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THE VOICE OF AMERICA
ON KISHINEFF

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on Kishineff

EDITED BY
CYRUS ADLER

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

On February 16, 1903, a youth named Michael Ribalenko was murdered at Dubossary, a village in the Government of Kherson, Southwestern Russia, not far from the Bessarabian town of Kishineff. Ribalenko was prospective heir to a fortune. The murderer turned out later to be, not a Jew, but a relative of the victim. He was actuated by the desire to secure a part of the fortune, upon which he had a claim after the lad's death. The corpse was found on February 22. Immediately the rumor arose that the Jews had committed the deed to obtain Christian blood for the Passover bread, and the accusation was kept alive by inflammatory articles in an anti-Semitic paper, The Bessarabetz, published at Kishineff by one Krushevan. This journal occupied a favorable position for shaping and controlling the humors of the populace. Not only was it licensed by the Government, but governmental authorization had for some years been denied every other journalistic venture in the district, although several applications had been made for the avowed purpose of counteracting the anti-Semitic propaganda systematically carried on by Krushevan in his two papers, published at Kishineff and St. Petersburg.

The agitation against the Jews was fomented throughout the month of March and during April, until it culminated, at the Easter holidays, April 19-21, in a three days' riot directed against the Jews of Kishineff. During this period of agitation, secret societies were formed whose object was the extermination or the harassing of the Jews, and hordes of Moldavian, Albanian, and Macedonian ruffians were hired in outlying villages to come to the town at the time designated for the attack upon the Jewish quarters.

That the onslaught upon the Jews was not due to an overmastering impulse of the moment, but had been carefully planned, was obvious from the events of the first day. There was not one mob, but several mobs, operating at the same time in different localities. The police was inactive, and the military was not summoned, although representatives of the Jewish community had called upon the Governor before the riots began, and had warned him of the dangers of the situation. Citizens belonging to the upper classes of society permitted it to appear that their sympathies were with the rioters, and on the part of the authorities nothing was done until the second day of the outrages was well advanced.

The official report (June 7) of the Central Relief Committee at Kishineff makes the following statement of the depredations committed by the mob:

The number of families affected by the outrages is 2,750, of whom 2,538 reported to the Committee damages amounting to 2,332,890 roubles (about $1,190,000.00). The number of victims killed on the spot and dying in consequence of injuries was 47; the number of severely injured, 92; slightly injured, 345 (not including those treated by physicians outside of the hospitals). The 47 victims left widows and 123 orphans. These figures do not take into account the temporarily or permanently disabled, nor can statistical inquiry reach those whose business, trade, or position has been affected, more or less seriously, by the industrial and economic crisis that has ensued.

The above is an outline statement of the occurrences at Kishineff as they have been described and analyzed by official and private investigators, by the consuls of several Governments at Odessa, by journalists, and by eye-witnesses, and sufferers. It does not touch upon the alleged complicity of the Russian Government through Minister von Plehve's secret circular of much earlier date; nor does it attempt to depict the horrors enacted during the three days of the massacre. Only so much of Kishineff history has been set down here as was needed to lead up to the action taken by the citizens of the United States, which it is sought to preserve in the present publication.

About ten days after the outrages, at the very end of April, meager dispatches describing what had happened reached the United States despite the vigilance of the Russian press censor. On April 29, the following dispatch was sent by our Department of State:

McCormick, Ambassador, St. Petersburg.

It is persistently reported, upon what appears to be adequate authority, that there is great want and suffering among Jews in Kischinew. Friends in this country desire to know if financial aid and supplies would be permitted to reach the sufferers.

Please ascertain this without discussing political phase of the situation. HAY.

The reply came ten days later:

PETERSBURG, May 9, 1903.
Received 9.46 a. m.

Sec. State
Washn.

Authoritatively denied that there is any want or suffering among Jews in Southwestern Russia and aid of any kind is unnecessary. While offer appreciated in spirit made it is gratefully declined.

McCORMICK.

On May 18, Count Cassini, the Russian Ambassador to the United States, issued a statement to The Associated Press. It was at once made the text of numerous addresses and editorial articles. The widespread attention it aroused was due doubtless to the supposition that Count Cassini was representing his Government in his explanation and his defense—an explanation and a defense which many orators characterized as having added insult to injury. It is reproduced here for two reasons: because without it many allusions in the body of the book are unintelligible, and because it presumably presents the case of Russia as Russia wishes it to be presented officially, since it has neither been disavowed nor supplemented by other statements:

> There is in Russia, as in Germany and Austria, a feeling against certain of the Jews. The reason for this unfriendly attitude is found in the fact that the Jews will not work in the field or engage in agriculture. They prefer to be money lenders. Give a Jew a couple of dollars and he becomes a banker and money broker. In this capacity he takes advantage of the Russian peasant, whom he soon has in his power and ultimately destroys. It is when the patience of the peasant is exhausted that a conflict between peasants and Jews occurs. Ordinarily the Russian is a patient person, but it is only natural that he should entertain a feeling of resentment for the one who has wrought his ruin.
>
> Emperor Nicholas I. sought to help the Jew by ordering the establishment of agricultural colonies in Southern Russia, hoping to induce the Jews to engage in agricultural pursuits instead of money lending, but the effort was not successful; nor have other projects establishing Jewish states been successful.

The situation in Russia so far as the Jews are concerned is just this: It is the peasant against the money lender and not the Russians against the Jews. There is no feeling against the Jew in Russia because of religion. It is as I have said—the Jews ruin the peasants, with the result that conflicts occur when the latter have lost all their worldly possessions and have nothing to live upon.

There are many good Jews in Russia, and they are respected. Jewish genius is appreciated in Russia, and the Jewish artist is honored. Jews also appear in the financial world in Russia.

The Russian Government affords the same protection to the Jews that it does to any other of its citizens, and when a riot occurs and Jews are attacked, the officials immediately take steps to apprehend those who began the riot and visit severe punishment upon them. In the past Russians have been punished severely for attacks upon Jews. But, notwithstanding these conflicts, the Jews continue to do the very things which have been responsible for the troubles which involve them.

The Russian readily assimilates with the people of all other races, and if he cannot assimilate with the Jew, it is apparent that the fault must be with the Jew and not with the Russian.

The Ambassador's attention was called to the statement contained in press dispatches from St. Petersburg to-day to the effect that a ministerial decree had been issued forbidding the Jews arming themselves for their own protection.

"I have received no information regarding the nature of the decree," he said, "but I know when the facts are made known it will appear differently and it will be shown that the decree does not discriminate against the Jews. The fact that Lieutenant-General Raaben, the Governor of Bessarabia, has been called to St. Petersburg shows conclusively that the Imperial authorities are seriously regarding the recent occurrences at Kishineff and are taking prompt measures to punish the guilty and to prevent repetitions of these disturbances."

The earliest public manifestation of sympathy was made in New York on May 2. Day by day almost, for two months thereafter, the people of the United States created opportunities for expressing their indignation. Mass meetings were convened for the purpose, sermons were delivered by ministers of all creeds, editorial articles appeared in the foremost papers, and resolutions were adopted by various bodies, religious, legal, and political, conveying sympathy to the survivors and appealing to the Government of the United States to urge upon Russia the necessity of taking steps to ameliorate the condition of her Jews.

While the agitation calling upon the Government of the United States to make suitable representations to the Russian Government was at its height, the fifteenth annual meeting of THE JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF AMERICA took place, May 24, 1903, in Philadelphia, Pa., at which the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That we deplore the brutal massacre of our co-religionists at Kishineff and extend our sympathy to those who have been maimed and ruined.

Resolved, That we respectfully ask the President of the United States to use his good offices in the name of humanity to prevent a recurrence of similar events.

Resolved, That we respectfully ask of the Congress and the Administration the taking of such steps as will accord equal rights to all American citizens, without distinction of creed, in all treaties hereafter entered into with foreign powers, and the denunciation of all existing treaties in conflict with this principle.

Resolved, That we denounce the heartless attempt made by the Russian ambassador to spread among the American people by means of the public press misleading and calumnious statements as to the character of the Jews of Russia and other countries.

Resolved, That a copy of this minute, signed by the officers of the society, be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and, upon the assembling of Congress, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

After the adoption of these resolutions, and as the outcome of the discussion upon them, the following motion was passed:

"That the Publication Committee be requested to prepare from time to time, and the Board of Trustees to publish and distribute, in such manner and in such quantity as may be most effectual, information bearing upon the condition of the Jews in Russia."

As the regular income of the Society was inadequate to meet the extraordinary situation, the Board of Trustees proceeded at once to collect funds for the proposed series of Kishineff publications, and the Publication Committee made arrangements to gather the material. The first publication was issued and distributed in November, "Within the Pale, the True Story of Anti-Semitic Persecution in Russia," by Michael Davitt, who had been sent to Kishineff, by the proprietor of The New York American and The Evening Journal, to make a report of what he could find out on the spot. His investigations have enabled him to present a graphic description of almost unparalleled horrors, with the superadded value of documentary evidence, all but first-hand, to which the future historian may resort when the time arrives for a philosophic and psychologic analysis of the condition of the Jews in the Russia of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[1]

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[1] For German readers the heartrending tale of Kishineff has been written by Told, *Die Judenmassacres in Kishinew.* Jü-

The present is the second publication issued under the terms of the above motion instructing the Committees of THE JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF AMERICA. Its purpose is to give a notion of the feeling engendered in the United States by the report of atrocities committed upon Jews in a far-off town. The pamphlet it was first designed to devote to this phase of the event grew into a book, which, in spite of its fair dimensions and crowded pages, does not give an exhaustive account of the action taken and the words spoken in all parts of the United States.

The omissions and curtailments, which the most casual reader will discover for himself, are partly intentional and partly due to the limitations imposed by circumstances. The town meetings held in the principal cities, representing as they did the largest bodies of citizens, are reported in detail. A list of sermons preached by Rabbis is not included. Such a list would have been tantamount to a list containing the name of every Jewish preacher in the United States, for the whole Jewish pulpit rang with sympathy and denunciation. The limitations of space will explain the omission of all letters addressed to the press, many of which vie in cogency of argument with the editorial articles of the professional journalist and the addresses of polished orators. The same reason operated in the decision to rule out the mention of towns in which the only public demonstration, direct and to the point though it was, was the collection of funds. No more could be done than sum up the praiseworthy

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discher Verlag, 1903; and for French readers, by Henri Dagan, *Les massacres de Kichinef et la situation des prolétaires juifs en Russie.* Paris, Cahiers de la Quinzaine.

result of such demonstration in the general statement made in Part Third of the book (pp. 467-468). Also the less ephemeral forms of literary demonstration, the pamphlets, the magazine articles, the poems, whose theme was Kishineff, by reason of their length, had to be disregarded.[1]

In part omissions were unintentional. In following up a contemporaneous occurrence through the newspapers, some of its protean manifestations are bound to elude the inquirer, and it was deemed advisable to omit the mention of all places in which correspondents with control over the facts could not be reached, and brief, unauthenticated press items were the only source of information. On the other hand, the completeness of the book, in so far as it is complete, is due primarily to the generosity of those who, when the appeal for material was made, parted with their collections of clippings, or went to the trouble of searching back files of newspapers. The persons who aided in the compilation of the book in this way are too many to be mentioned by name, but their help is acknowledged gratefully.

So much for the omissions. As to what has been included, an analysis of the material here gathered together shows the following to be the contents:

77 public meetings of protest were held in
50 towns situated in
27 States (including the District of Columbia). At these meetings

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[1] Besides Mr. Davitt's, there is another book among the Kishineff publications, "Out of Kishineff, The Duty of the American People to the Russian Jews," by W. C. Stiles, B. D.

363 addresses were delivered; among them 1 by an ex-President of the United States; 2 by United States Senators; 9 by Members of Congress; 15 by members of the judiciary; 3 by governors of States; 3 by members of State legislatures; 29 by mayors of cities and towns; 3 by college presidents; 5 by college professors; 3 by editors; 8 by attorneys; 55 by clergymen; 56 by rabbis.
107 letters expressing sympathy with their purpose were read at these public meetings, among them 1 from an ex-President of the United States; 5 from United States Senators; 4 from Members of Congress; 6 from governors of States; 1 from a United States ambassador; 4 from members of the judiciary; 1 from a cardinal; 3 from archbishops; 4 from bishops; 20 from clergymen; and 2 from college presidents.
29 sermons were preached in
17 towns, situated in
14 States.
24 organizations—clubs, churches, and associations—in meeting assembled for the purpose or for other purposes adopted resolutions condemning the massacre. These organizatons met in
16 towns, situated in
12 States (including the District of Columbia).
80 newspapers published in
40 towns, situated in
29 States (including the District of Columbia) printed
151 editorial articles on subjects connected with the massacre.

An American Kishineff diary would read as follows:

April 29—Dispatch inquiring into the rumors of massacres sent by the Department of State to Ambassador McCormick at St. Petersburg.
May 2—Meeting in New York City.
3—Meetings at Milwaukee, Wis.; New York City; Philadelphia, Pa.—Editorial article in The Commercial Gazette, Pittsburg, Pa.
8—Meeting in New York City.

May 9—Dispatch denying the existence of want or suffering among Jews in Southwestern Russia from Ambassador McCormick at St. Petersburg to the Department of State.—Editorial articles in The American, and The News, Baltimore, Md.

10—Meetings at Brooklyn, N. Y.; Cleveland, Ohio; Milwaukee, Wis.; and (3) Philadelphia, Pa.

11—Meetings at Atlantic City, N. J.; Newark, N. J.; and New York City.—Resolutions adopted by the Hebrew Veterans of the War with Spain, New York City.

12—Editorial articles in The American and Journal, New York City, and The Public Ledger and Philadelphia Times.

13—Meeting at Texarkana, Tex.—Editorial articles in The American and Journal, and The Evening Journal, New York City.

14—Editorial articles in The American, Baltimore, Md., and The News, Milwaukee, Wis.

15—Editorials in The News, Baltimore, Md.; The Age-Herald, Birmingham, Ala.; The Evening Post, Chicago, Ill.; The American and Journal, and The Evening Journal, New York City.

16—Editorials in The Sun, Baltimore, Md.; The Evening Post, and The Record-Herald, Chicago, Ill.; The Times-Democrat, New Orleans, La.; The Sun, New York City; and The Times, Washington, D. C.

17—Meetings at Baltimore, Md.; Boston Mass.; (2) Chicago, Ill.; Dallas, Tex.; Hartford, Conn.; and (2) Philadelphia, Pa.—Editorial articles in The Sun, Baltimore, Md.; The Chronicle, Chicago, Ill.; and The Times, New York City.

18—The Associated Press publishes a statement by Count Cassini, the Russian Ambassador.—Meetings at Buffalo, N. Y.; Chicago, Ill.; and Cincinnati, Ohio.—Resolutions adopted by the City Council of Chicago, Ill.—Editorial articles in The News, Baltimore, Md.; The Evening Post, Chicago, Ill.; The State, Columbia, S. C.; The Times, and The Tribune, New York City; The World-

Herald, Omaha, Neb.; The Chronicle Telegraph, Pittsburg, Pa.; and The Globe-Democrat, St. Louis, Mo.

May 19—Meetings at San Francisco, Cal., and Yonkers, N. Y.—Resolutions adopted by the Boards of Aldermen of Jersey City, N. J., and New York City.—Editorial articles in The Courier, Buffalo, N. Y.; The Chronicle, and the Inter Ocean, Chicago, Ill.; The Evening Journal, Minneapolis, Minn.; The American and Journal, New York City; and The Eagle, Wichita, Kan.

20—Editorial articles in The Citizen, Asheville, N. C.; The News, Baltimore, Md.; The Commercial, Buffalo, N. Y.; The News, Chattanooga, Tenn.; The Plain Dealer, Cleveland, Ohio; The Rocky Mountain News, Denver, Colo.; The Evening News, Lincoln, Neb.; The Times, New York City; The Press, Philadelphia, Pa.; and The Public Ledger and Philadelphia Times.

21—Meetings at Fort Smith, Ark., and Sioux City, Ia.—Resolutions adopted by the Seventeenth Triennial Council of the Reformed Episcopal Church, Chicago, Ill.—Editorial articles in the Evening Transcript, Boston, Mass.; The Leader, La Crosse, Wis.; The Independent, The Press, The Sun, and The Times, New York City.

22—Meeting at San Francisco, Cal.—Editorial articles in The News, Birmingham, Ala.; The Evening Post, and Hearst's Chicago American, Chicago, Ill.; The Plain Dealer, Cleveland, O.; The Evening Journal, New York City; The Commercial Gazette, Pittsburg, Pa.; and the Record-Union, Sacramento, Cal.

23—Action taken by the American Baptist Missionary Union, Buffalo, N. Y., and the City Council of Detroit, Mich.—Editorial articles in The Journal, Atlanta, Ga.; The Examiner, Chicago, Ill.; The Outlook, The Sun, and The Times, New York City.

24—Meetings at Denver, Colo.; Des Moines, Ia.; Elmira, N. Y.; Jersey City, N. J.; La Crosse, Wis.; New

York City; St. Louis, Mo.; and Wheeling, W. Va.—Sermons preached (2) at Denver, Colo.; (2) New York City; Omaha, Neb.; and Philadelphia, Pa. — Action taken by Congregation Emanu-El, Birmingham, Ala.; Calvary Baptist Church, Omaha, Neb.; and The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, Pa.—Editorial articles in The Record-Herald, Chicago, Ill.; The World-Herald, Omaha, Neb.; The News, Wheeling, W. Va.

May 25—Meetings at Buffalo, N. Y., and Newport, R. I.—Editorial articles in The American, Baltimore, Md.; The Idaho Statesman, Boise, Idaho; The Evening News, Lincoln, Neb.; The Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin, New York City.

26—Meetings at New York City and Norfolk, Va.—Editorial articles in The Tribune, N. Y.; The Virginian-Pilot, Norfolk, Va.; The Globe-Democrat, St. Louis, Mo.; and The Gazette, Terre Haute, Ind.

27—Meetings at Bayonne, N. J., and New York City.—Editorial articles in The Evening Sun, New York City, and The Herald, Topeka, Kan.

28—Resolutions adopted by Temple Israel, Terre Haute, Ind.—Editorial articles in The Globe, Boston, Mass.; The News, Des Moines, Ia.; The American and Journal, The Evening Sun, The Sun, and The Times, New York City.

29—Meetings at Chicago, Ill.; Jersey City, N. J.; and La Crosse, Wis.—Editorial articles in The Evening Post, and The Record-Herald, Chicago, Ill.; The Gazette, Janesville, Wis.; The American and Journal, New York City; and The Evening Telegram, West Superior, Wis.

30—Meeting at Salt Lake City, Utah.—Editorial articles in The American, Baltimore, Md.; The News and Courier, Charleston, S. C.; and The Outlook, New York City.

31—Meetings at Boston, Mass., and Richmond, Va.—An address at Minneapolis, Minn.—Sermons (2) at

Boston, Mass., and (1) at Philadelphia, Pa.—Resolutions adopted by the Chambers-Wylie Memorial Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Pa.—Editorial articles in The Item, New Orleans, La., and The Bee, Omaha, Neb.

June 1—Meetings at Birmingham, Ala.; Syracuse, N. Y.; and Wilmington, Del.—An address at New York City.—Resolutions adopted by the Jefferson Club, New York City, and the Union Republican Committee of New Castle County, N. J.—Editorial articles in The Times, Altoona, Pa.; The Ledger, Birmingham, Ala.; and The Plain Dealer, Cleveland, Ohio.

2—Meeting at Trenton, N. J.—Resolutions adopted by the Negro Members of the Louisville, Ky., bar, and by the Common Council of Trenton, N. J.—Editorial articles in The Advertiser, Newark, N. J., and The American and Journal, New York City.

3—Meetings at Philadelphia, Pa., and Worcester, Mass.—An editorial article in The Evening Star, Peoria, Ill.

4—Meeting at Atlanta, Ga.—Resolutions adopted by the Seneca Club, New York City.—Editorial articles in Leslie's Illustrated Weekly, New York City; The Evening Telegraph, Philadelphia, Pa.; and The Capital, Topeka, Kan.

5—Meeting at Washington, D. C.—Editorial articles in The American and Journal, New York City; The Inquirer, and The North American, Philadelphia, Pa.; and The Ledger, Tacoma, Wash.

6—Editorial articles in The American, and The Morning Herald, Baltimore, Md.; The Evening Sun, and The Times, New York City.

7—Meetings at Baltimore, Md.; (3) New York City; and Pittsburg, Pa.—Addresses at Wilmington, Del.—Sermons at Albany, N. Y.; (2) Baltimore, Md.; and New York City.—Editorial articles in The Sun, and The Times, New York City; and The Times, Toledo, Ohio.

June 8—Resolutions adopted by the City Council of Columbus, Ohio.—An editorial article in The American and Journal, New York City.

10—Editorial articles in The Sun, Baltimore, Md.; The American and Journal, and The Times, New York City.

12—Editorial articles in The American, Baltimore, Md., The Times, New York City; and The Call, San Francisco, Cal.

13—Meeting at New Orleans, La.—Editorial articles in The Picayune, New Orleans, La., and The Times, New York City.

14—Meeting at Petersburg, Va.—Sermon in New York City.

15—The Executive Committee of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith waits upon the President of the United States, and presents a memorandum and the draft of a petition addressed to the Emperor of Russia.

16—An editorial article in The Evening Journal, Minneapolis, Minn.

17—An editorial article in The Press, New York City.

18—Resolutions adopted by the National Anti-Mob and Lynch Law Association, Springfield, O.—An editorial article in The American, Baltimore, Md.

22—Sermons (2) at Kansas City, Mo.—An editorial article in The News, New York City.

25—An editorial article in The Mail and Express, New York City.

26—Editorial articles in The Commercial Advertiser, and The Tribune, New York City.

27—Editorial articles in The Times, and The Tribune, New York City, and The Bee, Omaha, Neb.

28—An editorial article in The Times, New York City.

July 1—An editorial article in The Times, New York City.

4—An editorial article in The Times, New York City.

5—An editorial article in The Press, Philadelphia, Pa.

7—An editorial article in The Globe, Boston, Mass.

11—Address before the Chautauqua Assembly.

July 12—Meeting at Atlantic City.
14—The petition to the Emperor of Russia, framed by the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith transmitted, in obedience to the instructions of the President of the United States, to the American Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburg, with directions to present a communication embodying the petition to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and inquire whether the petition would be received by him to be submitted to the Emperor of Russia. Not received.
15—An editorial article in The Times, New York City.
17—Editorial articles in The American and Journal, New York City, and The Evening Star, Washington, D. C.
18—An editorial article in The Times, New York City.
21—An editorial article in The Evening Post, Louisville, Ky.
Oct. 31—The petition of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, with 12,544 signatures appended, placed in the archives of the United States.

In Part First the various sorts of protest, whether in the form of meetings, resolutions, or sermons, have been grouped in chronological order under the towns in which the action was taken, and the towns are arranged alphabetically. In Part Second the alphabetical order of towns is retained, and under each town name the newspapers follow each other in the alphabetical order of their names, and the articles quoted from each in chronological order.

In reading the addresses and articles in the book, the reader must bear in mind that they form a contemporaneous record, in which contradictory statements could hardly fail to find lodgment. They are day by day utterances, which successive dispatches and reports were bound to modify and correct. Hence arise the inconsistencies in facts and figures between address and address, and article and article. The sketch of the course of events as they are now known to have happened given in this Introduction, is an attempt to bring together the final results as they appear in the most authentic accounts available.

The plan of THE JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF AMERICA was to issue a series of publications on Russian Jewish relations, and there is sufficient material on hand for works on the condition of the Jews in Russia, on aspects of the passport question, and on documents in the archives of the United States bearing upon these matters. Whether the plan will be fully executed, will depend upon circumstances, chief among them the collection of a fund large enough to enable the Society to bear the expense of printing, publication, and distribution.

NOVEMBER 26, 1903.

In view of the length of time that has elapsed since the above Introduction was written, the Editor is prompted to address a word to the members of the JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF AMERICA, in explanation of the causes of the delay in the appearance of the present book. When the galley proofs were about to be put into pages, a fire broke out, on December 6, 1903, in the printing office of The Friedenwald Company at Baltimore, by whom the book had been set up. Scarcely had work been resumed, after an interruption of nearly seven weeks, when the disastrous fire of February 7, though it fortunately did not reach the above printing establishment, impeded the progress of the book again, by temporarily putting a stop to all activity in Baltimore.

Meanwhile reports of the trial of the rioters at Kishineff, held in November-December, 1903, and, in part, of the trial held in February-March, 1904, have been received in America. The significant circumstances attending and brought out by the two trials may be summed up briefly thus:

At the first trial, out of four hundred prisoners, one was sentenced to seven years' and one to five years' penal servitude; and twenty-three to periods of imprisonment ranging up to a maximum of two years. At the second trial (up to the present date) two were sentenced to four years' imprisonment and one t twenty years; fifteen to one year's imprisonment, an three to four months.

The Court refused to allow the necessary witnesses to be put in the witness box.

All the Counsel (except two out of forty) retaine for the prosecution threw up their briefs, because th judges interfered with the freedom of the barristers i questioning the witnesses. Subsequently one of the advocates was banished to Siberia.

All civil actions for damages, which naturally wer brought by Jews, were non-suited.

Baron Levendal, colonel of gendarmery, came to Kishineff three months before Easter with a detachment of secret police, and emissaries of his accompanied bands of the rioters urging them to attack the Jews.

MARCH 21, 1904.

PART FIRST

MEETINGS, SERMONS, RESOLUTIONS

PART FIRST

MEETINGS, SERMONS, RESOLUTIONS

ALBANY, NEW YORK

A sermon on the Kishineff outrages was delivered by the Rev. John J. Lawrence, at the State Street Presbyterian Church, Albany, N. Y., on June 7, 1903.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

A benefit performance was given at the Bijou Theater, June 4, 1903. Harry A. Alexander presided over the performance and delivered an address. He said, in part:

> Never since history began has liberty administered to despotism a more terrible and stinging rebuke than the spectacle of the American republic thus welcoming those whom Russian tyranny has found unworthy of its citizenship. This is the mighty protest which the American people make against the crimes of Kishineff. This is the protest that outweighs all that the Secretary of State could say. This is the spectacle that will never fade from the hearts and consciences of men. If the day shall come, as many believe it will come, when the armies of America and England, beneath the shining banner of liberty, and the legions of the Czar, beneath the black eagle of despotism, shall meet in battle to contest the sovereignty of the world, it is the blood of Kishineff that, crying from the ground, will turn the tide for the soldiers of liberty.

ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY

A mass meeting was held May 11, 1903, at which resolutions were adopted protesting against the Kishineff massacre.

The Jewish Chautauqua Society, during its Seventh Summer Assembly at Atlantic City, on July 12, 1903, held a popular conference on "The Status of the Jews in Russia." Addresses were made by Honorable Mayer Sulzberger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Colonel John B. Weber, Buffalo, N. Y., United States Commissioner to Russia in 1891; Honorable Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.; and Rabbi H. Masliansky, New York City.

Judge Mayer Sulzberger, of Philadelphia, acted as chairman of the meeting. He said:

The policy of the Russian Government is to persecute such of its subjects as are not of the Greek Church. The existence of Protestant and Catholic world powers tempers the cruelty with which Protestants and Catholics are pursued. The absence of a Jewish world power aggravates the ill-treatment of the Russian Jew.

We who sympathize with the latter must therefore appeal to the conscience of the world—to public opinion. Intangible and invisible, its existence is often doubted and its effect ridiculed, both by those who are with us and those who are against us.

"What good will the agitation do?" say the former; "a fig for your noise!" say the latter.

Let the facts of a little month speak: Cassini first brawls, then speaks gently, and now protests friendship. The Holy Synod first smiles at Father John's upbraidings, then disciplines him into recantation. The Russian Ambassador promises London's Lord Mayor protection for Russian Jews if we but keep still. And finally the Grand Duke Vladimir himself explains to the American public.

On the other hand, it is true that Russian semi-officialism blusters and threatens insult to our Government.

Both positions show that Russia is summoned to the bar of civilization, appears and pleads, though the appearance is reluctant and the plea quibbling, untrue and self-contradictory.

Without hatred or malice toward Russia or its rulers, we must proclaim the wrong that she is doing in pressing the life out of her Jewish subjects by law and administration and in encouraging outright murder, and worse, by the example of her policy.

With firm insistence on our rights as citizens, native-born or adopted, we must present to our Government the claim that Russia must cease to declare him no citizen of the United States who, by virtue of our laws, is one.

In so doing we disavow all intention to embarrass our Government. The course to be pursued by the administration, whatever it be, ought to satisfy us. We cannot forget that the President of the United States, our first citizen, has ever been mindful of the duties of his great office, of the honor of our country, and of the rights of all its citizens; that he has spoken wisely and justly on this subject, and that his distinguished Secretary of State, with delicately humorous generosity, met the first denial of the Kishineff massacre by contributing aid for its victims.

But whatever the official policy or procedure may be, our duty is to arouse public opinion all over the world in the firm faith that it will enter Russia and influence it, despite cordons and censorships.

For that purpose we are here to-day. To this campaign of publicity and protest, this peaceful struggle for humanity and justice, "not by might nor by power, but by the spirit of God," we here devote ourselves until the end be attained.

Colonel John B. Weber, who was chairman of a special commission to investigate conditions in Europe in 1891, for the United States Government, said:

The status of the Jew in Russia, or to state it more aptly, the lack of a status, is no doubt familiar to many of you, through information gained from those who came from there, from reading, and from actual experience as former residents of that country. To all such, what I shall say may not throw new light on a dark subject, but there may be in this audience those who have but a faint conception of the conditions which prevail in that country, and to such I particularly address myself; those whose humanitarian sensibilities have been shocked by the recent ebullitions of fanaticism, and who are willing and anxious that some reasonable steps be taken to prevent, or at least to lessen the frequency of similar occurrences in the future.

It is not easy to obtain facts in respect of occurrences in Russia, largely owing to the rigidity of the censor, and the flexibility of diplomatic denials, but, whatever may be denied, they cannot successfully contradict the evidence they themselves have furnished, in their code of special restrictive laws applicable only to those of the Jewish faith. Besides the special requirements regarding military duties, taxation, passports, property, and commercial rights, agricultural and industrial pursuits, civil service, representation, legal procedure, and punishment, they are particularly oppressive in respect of religion, education, and residence. Bear in mind that these laws are not common to the whole people, but applicable only to Jews, and supersede or are in addition to the general laws affecting the rest of the population. These laws in my judgment are responsible for the misery and persecution of these unhappy people. When the government thus openly and officially discriminates, the substrata of society will not fail to emphasize such discrimination by acts of brutality, upon the slightest pretext of provocation. There can be no peace, no substantial relief for the sufferers, until the total disappearance from Russia—of either the Jew or the special laws directed against him.

I referred to the laws relating to religion as especially obnoxious and oppressive. I mean by this that because they are so barren of the results aimed at—conversion—they are not only senseless, but become persecution pure and simple.

The Jew in Russia at first amazed me in two particulars: the tenacity with which he clings to his religious faith, and the intensity of his desire to educate his children, but later on I found good reasons for both. Persecution invariably intensifies the unity of a people, and when the conditions in life become well-nigh unbearable he must find consolation in the hope of a happier hereafter or give way to a despair culminating in insanity. Notwithstanding that he might greatly ameliorate his condition by embracing the Orthodox faith, such instances are so rare that it may be said they are practically non-existent.

It was easier to understand the craving for education, for that when carried through the higher degrees brought the privilege of residence outside the Pale. The opportunities for acquiring education, however, were limited, and from time to time still further narrowed, by additional restrictions, so that in 1891 but 10 per cent of the scholars in schools and universities within the Pale might be Jews, and but 5 per cent outside of the Pale, except in St. Petersburg and Moscow, where but 3 per cent of the pupils were allowed to the Jews. In my State and in some of the countries of Europe, the laws provide for compulsory education; in Russia, in respect of the Jews, the laws provide for compulsory ignorance.

The laws regarding residence are especially harsh, vexatious and tyrannical. In their wording they are contradictory; in their sections, inconsistent. They are promulgated and repealed, sometimes permitted to lie dormant, unenforced; sometimes enforced before they are promulgated—strange as this will seem to an American, but it is a fact. Construed to mean one thing at one time, and another thing at a subsequent date; to mean one thing in one Gubernium, and in an adjoining Gubernium quite another.

In 1865 an edict was issued, inviting into the interior of Russia certain classes of Jews, who at that time had not the right of residence outside of the Pale, among them being hand-workers or artisans. The groundwork of this decree, as was stated therein, was that there was a surplus of artisans in the Pale and a deficiency in the interior, and that it was designed to not only relieve the one, but to foster and develop the industries of the other. And this it did. Some came in without being strictly within the defined classes, there being at that time a tolerant feeling toward them, and in 1880 to confirm the right of residence to these another edict was issued giving the right of residence in the interior to all those who were then living outside of the Pale. Two years after, the so-called May laws of 1882 were promulgated as temporary measures, although they are now over twenty years old, which had the effect of preventing the further settlement in the agricultural districts of the Pale, a right which they always had had, and they also forced them into the towns and townlets of the Pale. The protests which went up from many civilized countries against the harshness of these measures brought about a temporary suspension, for the Bear is not so indifferent to criticism as is pretended, and the enforcement for some time thereafter was of an intermittent character, breaking out in spots. In the fall and winter of 1890 the screws were tightened and the pressure felt in the interior, notably in Moscow. The artisans first experienced difficulty in procuring their annual renewals of certificates of artisanship. Then came petty trickery to expedite the movement. Artisans were held to be fraudulently enrolled, because at the precise moment of visitation the inspector did not find the artisan actually at work, perhaps delivering work, or ill at home, but the evidence was always considered sufficient, and expulsion ordered. A watchmaker who had sold a watch-key was held to have violated the rule which forbade the sale by him of any article not the product of his own hand, and was expelled; so also a tailor who sold a suit of clothes, attached to which were buttons not of his manufacture. Finally came the order, about the time we reached Moscow, boldly expelling artisans and others who had been formally invited to come there, and who had settled in the interior, established themselves, married, raised families of children who had never seen the Pale, and now were compelled to go there, to begin life anew among strangers under conditions of extreme competition, in a place already overcrowded, and where the effort to obtain a livelihood was literally a snatching of bread out of the mouths of each other and the survival of the strongest.

The sacrifice of property, owing to forced and hurried sales, the inability to collect honest debts from men who felt entirely safe to refuse payment to those who were ordered out, the cessation of further credits to those merchants who had to go, the suffering due to the loss of employment, can better be imagined than described. The average realization on goods, manufacturing plants and household effects was about 10 per cent of value, according to careful estimates. The aching hearts never have been, nor can they be, calculated. The pathway from Moscow to the Pale was substantially the line of Bonaparte's retreat, and in some respects similar; it was strewn with human wrecks, broken hearts and blighted lives.

Jews about this time were denied admittance to the hospitals under the jurisdiction of the municipal authorities, although they were taxed to support these institutions. The most pitiable case was that of the man who had been bitten by a rabid dog, and was carried to a hospital on a stretcher, but turned away simply and solely because he was a Jew, notwithstanding the superintendent in charge wrote and signed a certificate to the effect that the man had been examined, that he had the symptoms of hydrophobia, and that his only chance for cure was in being treated at that hospital by the Pasteur method, that being the only institution in all Russia where that system had been established.

I saw in their étape prison, persons who had a perfectly legal right of residence at the time of their arrest, with the evidence of such right plainly available, yet they were ordered to be sent by étape to the Pale—that is, in a convoy with criminals—for not having the right of residence. I saw official documents ordering Jews to be sent by étape in handcuffs, the offense stated in such documents being "without the right of residence."

These are but a few sample cases which we set forth in our official report, all of them being verified by undoubted evidence, else they would not have found place there, nor would they be referred to here. This was in 1891, and accounts for the stimulus given to Jewish immigration to this country since that time. That they have not stopped these outrages, let Kishineff answer. Kishineff was but a repetition of the midnight raid on the Jewish quarter of Moscow in 1891, except that then the authorities prevented a wholesale massacre. And Kishineff is not the last chapter in the story of "man's inhumanity to man."

To-day the Jew in Russia is an alien in the land of his birth, one who bears an undue share of the burdens of government without the privileges of its meanest citizen. Fettered in his movements, handicapped in his vocation, restricted in his educational opportunities, unable to protect himself, and powerless to successfully invoke the protection of the authorities; a slave who has not even the master's self-interest to shield him from abuse, he stands helpless, friendless and defenseless against brute force, egged on, not only by religious intolerance, but by contending forces which strive to strengthen the government on the one hand, and to destroy it, on the other—the irrepressible conflict of the age, between government by autocracy and government by the people. This makes the Jew the sport of the rabble, the spoil of the official; the football of fanaticism, the buffer against which strikes the brutal wrath of bigotry, intolerance and savagery. This in brief is the status of the Jew in Russia to-day.

I do not believe that the Czar would have more loyal and devoted subjects than the Jew, were he permitted to be a man. Neither do I believe that intelligent Russians are in accord with this policy of proscription. Rather do I believe, that if free to express themselves, they would gladly and emphatically echo the sentiments as applicable to the Jew, which were uttered by our own Jefferson regarding the negro, when he said, "I tremble for my country, when I remember the slave, and know that God is just."

We frequently hear and read of late that so long as lynching is prevalent in this country, we have no moral right to protest against the persecution of the Jew. I do not agree with this view, for I think I can see a substantial difference between conditions there and here. There are no laws in this country which discriminate against the rights of the negro, in respect of his person, his property or his conscience. Infringement upon his voting privilege is yet to be passed upon by our highest court of appeal. And even if this result in the loss of his franchise, it would be but one point of parity with the Jew, and a small matter in comparison with the mountain of discriminations piled upon the Jew in Russia. Again, it must be admitted, that however deplorable are the fiendish mob outbreaks here, the victim is always charged with the commission of crime of the most serious nature, which is not the case with the Jew. He has not committed any crime; he is not charged with offense save that of clinging to the faith of his fathers, and this, if he lives up to, makes him a better man, a better subject of the state, and, were he permitted, would make him a better citizen of the empire. Over and above all this, so far as argument among nations is concerned, regarding the interference in internal affairs, we have the undoubted legal as well as moral right to object to the conduct of a friendly power which unfavorably affects our economic and political affairs, and upon this ground we stand on an unassailable base, when we protest against the course which Russia is pursuing towards the Jew. We cannot look with unconcern upon the arrival of the thousands of hunted, terror-stricken human beings, who come to us crushed in spirit and impoverished in substance, to enter into competition with our respected and self-respecting labor, and if any government by its acts forces such people upon us, in so unhappy and deplorable a condition, it is clearly within our international rights to object. Neither is it an answer to say that we have the remedy in our hands by closing our ports against these people. This would violate our every instinct of humanity, and would war against the essence and spirit of our institutions, against the policy which has made this country great and prosperous, and which will continue to add to our progress, if the tide of immigration is confined to a flow from natural causes alone. The abnormal immigration which comes to us from Russia being due to the laws and methods of that country, gives us a legal and moral right to protest. Self-interest and humanity unite in a loud call to invoke our rights.

Nor is it to be expected that this stream of fleeing people can be diverted in any great proportions to other lands than this. This country is the magnet which attracts the particles of humanity whenever they become detached from their native soil. They know of us, as was evidenced in a statement made by an emigrant at Kovno, in the Pale, when he said, "I am going to America, because in that direction lies hope. Here I have only fears to confront me. The hope may prove delusive, but the fears are a certainty. My great ambition is to breathe, at least once, the free air with which God has blessed the American people." These are the words of an uncultured Jew, and these are the sentiments in the heart of every Jew in Russia.

Upon you, ladies and gentlemen of the Jewish faith, will fall grave responsibilities growing out of the continued persecution of your co-religionists, which you cannot evade if you would, and which I am sure you would not if you could. To provide for the incoming thousands, who flee from the brutalities of darkest Russia, to aid them in establishing themselves in work or business so that they may become self-sustaining, to protect them against the unscrupulous who would prey upon them here, to distribute them, so far as may be feasible, that they may not by congestion become a menace to us all, to guard in every way possible against the danger of a rebound from oppression to freedom, which so generally accompanies the lifting of the pressure, and so usually interprets liberty to mean license, and to instil into their minds correct principles of our citizenship, are the problems which confront you, the solution of which will tax your best energies, demand your best thought, and require your most enlightened liberality. And in this work I believe you will have the moral and material support of every true American citizen.

Be patient with these unfortunates and do not judge them by the ordinary standards. Their lives from the cradle up have been passed under extraordinary conditions. The grown-up generation cannot forget their mistreatment; they cannot banish fear and suspicion on command. But their children can be fitted to enter into our citizenship, and made to glorify your race, and reflect credit upon our American institutions.

Rev. Dr. Henry Berkowitz then read the following letter from Dr. Walter Kempster, of Milwaukee, who was United States Commissioner to Russia in 1891 with Colonel Weber:

It was with no prophetic insight that I remarked on reading a proclamation made by the Czar of Russia some time ago, wherein he granted to his subjects the privilege (so he said) of worshiping God according to the dictates of their conscience, that some action was contemplated looking toward further persecution of the Jews. This came sooner than I anticipated.

There is a phase of this persecution which does not yet appear to be fully understood by persons who have not been on the ground, namely, that the Jew is made a scapegoat for the persecution of other so-called " unorthodox."

It is not only the Jew, but the Lutherans, the Baptists, Stundists, and other denominations not in conformity with the Greek Church who are compelled to leave the dominion of the Czar, for the reason that they do worship the Almighty in accordance with the dictates of their conscience. These denominations are not mentioned for obvious reasons; but if you will refer to the report made by Colonel Weber and myself concerning the condition of the Jews in Russia, you will find therein statements to the effect that we ourselves saw many people professing the faiths indicated above who were driven out with the Jews, and in large numbers, but who were not mentioned in the dispatches nor referred to by those who have written upon this subject. It is, however, true. The whole movement is one of religious intolerance. In my opinion, it is thoroughly understood by the Russian Government, from the Czar down.

You have doubtless seen many references in the press of late to extracts from a newspaper published in Kishineff of an inflammatory character, condemning the Jewish residents. When you take into consideration that 90 per cent of the Russian peasant population can neither read nor write, it becomes apparent that there must be some other influence at work to arouse the mass of the people to violence aside from editorial attacks made in the newspapers.

The remedy for all this is extremely difficult to find. The protests of American people, or any other people, for that matter, have no more weight in the dominions of the Czar than as though they were not uttered. They believe themselves to be a nation superior to all others on the face of the earth, and the religion of the Greek Church is the only religion, and that all others must be driven out of the kingdom. They stand ready to resort to measures which would not be tolerated in any civilized country, but which I fear will continue there until the Russian dominions will be rent asunder by internal dissensions, which I believe may occur in an unlooked-for way and perhaps at a time when least expected, and which will, when they come, astonish the world.

The following letter from Andrew D. White, the United States Ambassador to Germany, dated July 7, was read:

I have delayed final answer to your kind invitation, hoping that I could make some arrangements to accept it, but, to my especial regret, find myself utterly unable to do so.

I regret this all the more, for this is the time of all times when I would have gladly met you and your organization to utter some word of cheer and comfort to you all, some word of sympathy with your oppressed brethren in faith, and some word of remonstrance with the oppressors. But the fates forbid. Give to your associates assurances of my best wishes.

A letter from Mr. William B. Hackenburg, of Philadelphia, was also read.

Hon. Simon Wolf, of Washington, D. C., spoke after Rev. H. Masliansky, of New York, whose remarks were in Yiddish. Mr. Wolf's address contained the following:

There is no occasion, before this or any American audience, to paint the deplorable outrages in Russia. We all know them. We sympathize with the victims and we protest against the atrocities. Meetings have been called by the American people, irrespective of faith and partisanship, to protest against these atrocities. The voice of the American people has thundered through the world, and the dark clouds of persecution are beginning to lift. Our government has listened to the voice of the people. Audience was given by the chief servant of the American people, who listened to the voice of the people. The words found an echo in the heart of his chief secretary, John Hay.

American citizens of the United States stand on a plane of equality and have the right to demand what every other American citizen can demand.

The President said, "I will consider," and he did consider. The President in his letter to me said, "I will send your petition to the Czar. Give it to me as quickly as you can," and, in spite of uncanny influences, he says: "I will forward your petition because it is right, just and humane, and because the American people have spoken, and their voice to me is law."

This petition may never be sent or received. But whether sent or received, the moral effect has already been accomplished, and in the history of the United States there will be no document, outside of the Declaration of Independence, greater in importance than this—the petition of the American people to the Czar of Russia that religious liberty be granted to the oppressed Jews of his domain.

I have never been afraid of Russian immigration. I believe that God's inscrutable will is back of the shifting scenes, and that every attack upon the Jews of Russia will redound to the downfall of that land.

* * * * * * * * *

Mr. Isaac Hassler, of Philadelphia, presented these resolutions, which were adopted:

The Jewish Chautauqua Society, in its Summer Assembly, joins in the expression of feeling of the civilized world against the persecution and massacre of the Jews of Kishineff, Russia.

The Society believes that in the creation of a strong public opinion and in its expression through appropriate channels, a most effective, practical remedy lies.

Accordingly, the thanks of the Jewish people are due to the press, especially the press of the United States, for the searching reports and investigations, which have contributed so largely to convey and reflect the feelings of all right-thinking men in condemnation of the outrages.

The Society commends the action of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith in giving orderly and proper utterance to the sentiment of the American people, and joins in and endorses the petition formulated for this purpose by the Order for presentation to the Russian authorities.

The Society expresses its thanks and praise for the courageous stand in behalf of liberty of conscience and humanity taken by the President and other executive officers of the United States in agreeing to transmit this petition to the Russian authorities.

A copy of this resolution, signed by the chancellor, the president, and the secretary of the society, shall be sent to the Independent Order B'nai B'rith for such use as the Order may determine.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

A meeting, convened under the auspices of the Baltimore Branch of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle,* was held at the Academy of Music, on May 17, 1903. There were present nearly three thousand persons. The Committee of Arrangements consisted of Dr. Harry Friedenwald, President of the Alliance Branch, Chairman, Simon Dalsheimer, Honorable Lewis Putzel, Dr. Fabius Fox, and T. Silberman. The meeting was presided over by Dr. Fabian Franklin, and addresses were made by Honorable John V. L. Findlay, Mayor Hayes, Leon E. Greenbaum, Samuel Wollman, and ex-Governor William Pinkney Whyte.

The Vice-Presidents of the meeting were as follows:

Rev. Drs. A. Guttmacher, William Rosenau, Charles A. Rubenstein, H. W. Schneeberger, Alois Kaiser; Messrs. M. Ades, Samuel Frank, Menka Friedmann, William Frisch, A. Greenstein, D. Kaplan, Matthew Keyser, M. Krakover, J. Krulewitch, Charles London, L. Lesser, M. S. Levy, M. J. Oppenheimer, Samuel Rosenthal, Jr., A. Sauber, G. Schwartz, M. Shakman, M. E. Selenkov, T. Simon, Moses Strauss, Isaac Strouse.

Dr. Franklin opened the meeting with the following address:

In face of the persecution of these unfortunate people and the intolerable oppressions authorized, or at least permitted, by the Russian government, two things remain to be done—one is to furnish the material help to these people in their struggle to pick up the shattered needs of life remaining to them, and this must be done by generous subscription; and the second is the creation of a potent public sentiment against the acts and the government permitting them that shall spread throughout the world.

To the first end there will be a collection taken, and to the latter a set of resolutions will be offered and will be supported by some of the highest members of this State, and that not only Jews, but of various creeds. They represent that element that loves justice and liberty without regard to birth or religious inclination. We shall hear from the highest representative of the great Catholic Church, as his long record of humanity and public service would lead us to expect.

I have now the pleasure of presenting to you the mayor of your city, who comes from a sturdy old American stock that has always sided with progress and both political and religious freedom—His Honor Mayor Thomas G. Hayes.

Mayor Hayes said:

To Marylanders whose very atmosphere is impregnated with religious liberty; to those whose very ancestors in 1634 brought with them to these shores religious liberty, it is difficult to believe that these Jews have been murdered in their homes and their women slain after having been robbed of the dearest treasures of womanhood in life. I say it is difficult to conceive that in 1903 in a so-called civilized country such unspeakable atrocities could have been inflicted on law-abiding people and with the practical connivance of the local police.

Israel Zangwill's letter can have but one result. It must arouse the manhood of every man to speak out vigorously in behalf of humanity.

Think of it—in this twentieth century, and in a part of the world that claims the rank of a civilized nation, women and children have been butchered, while the Russian police stood idly by. It is an indelible disgrace to the government that did not prevent it, and will surely raise a protest that will be loudly heard in the imperial halls of St. Petersburg.

After the mayor's address, Mr. Hugo Steiner read a number of communications, which are given in part.

John Walter Smith, the Governor of Maryland, wrote:

I regret, owing to prior engagements, it will be impossible for me to be in Baltimore on the day named; but notwithstanding that I cannot be present I am unable to refrain from expressing to you my sorrow and amazement that such an outrage could have occurred in any country on the earth, and that it should have been caused by religious prejudice; and also my sincere sympathy for those who have been robbed of their property and bereaved of their friends and natural protectors by this outbreak of barbarism, which has shocked the civilized world.

Hon. Simon Wolf, of Washington, wrote:

My Dear Sir: In answer to your request to be present at the public meeting to be held in Baltimore on Sunday afternoon, May 17, I beg leave to state that owing to a prior engagement in the city of Philadelphia I am unfortunately prevented from attending. Under the circumstances making it necessary for this meeting, I would, of course, have been only too glad to co-operate with my friends in Baltimore for the purpose of expressing the deep indignation that each and every man should feel at the outrages perpetrated upon our co-religionists in Russia, and to evidence not only by words, but by active contribution, the deep and sincere sympathy we feel for our stricken and persecuted friends. It is high time that we should declare in tones unmistakable to our government and to the American people that it behooves them to take active part in bringing about reforms in Russia to prevent these outrages and inhumanities, for every outbreak in Russia swells the army of refugees that will inundate our country, making it so much harder not only upon the victims, but upon those who by kinship are compelled to care for them on their arrival. This is no longer a local question, and cannot and should not be treated in any other spirit than that which is underlying the principles as enunciated in the Roumanian note.

* * * The Jews of the United States, and, indeed, of the whole world, must be banded together for the purpose of preventing similar cruelties, and all other questions, whether of a local, national or international character, should be in abeyance until this one great problem of the century should be solved.

* * * * * * * * *

In justice to our government I would state that immediately upon the receipt of the cablegram of the outrages, I promptly notified the State Department and asked it to cable to our ambassador in Russia for detailed information and to secure the consent of the Russian government to the distribution of funds and supplies, and the State Department has cabled again, not having received a prompt answer, showing that they are in sympathy and anxious to aid us in every way possible not inconsistent with international usage.

DR. HARRY FRIEDENWALD.

My Dear Sir: I regret that my enforced absence from the city on May 17 will prevent my presence at the meeting you have called to voice your horror at the events that have recently taken place at Kishineff. I have no hesitation, however, to express my deep abhorrence at the massacres that have carried to their graves gray hair and innocent childhood. Our sense of justice revolts at the thought of persecution for religion's sake, but when persecution is attended with murder and pillage the brain reels and the heart sickens and righteous indignation is aroused at the enormity of the crime.

What a blot upon civilization is this slaughter of inoffensive men, women and children! Please convey to the meeting my grief for the dead, my sympathy for those made helpless by the murder of their natural protectors, and my sincere hope that this twentieth century will see the end of all such occurrences, and that peace, good-will and brotherly love may prevail on earth.

Faithfully yours,
JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS.

Baltimore, May 8, 1903.

After Mr. Steiner had ended reading Cardinal Gibbons' letter, Dr. Franklin introduced Mr. John V. L. Findlay.

Mr. Findlay said:

We have assembled here this afternoon without regard to creed, race, condition or nationality, for the purpose of discharging the highest duty that man can perform, the duty that he owes to humanity itself. The occasion of our meeting involves a simple, although pathetic and tragical, story already made known to the most of you, as the details have been unfolded from day to day in the columns of the public press. It was the Easter season, at the high tide of the Christian festival, that this unspeakable outrage against every principle for which the name of Christ stands, and which the religion that he taught is supposed to embody, was inflicted upon a peaceable and unoffending class of our fellow-beings in a distant province of Russia. The pretense for the murderous assault is too silly for discussion and could only have imposed upon a fanatical mob already inflamed with the ugliest passions of racial and religious animosity.

It may not be out of place, however, in passing, to say that this pretense is known historically as the blood accusation, and originated in a charge absolutely without foundation and with not even the color of plausible suspicion to sustain it, that the Jews used Christian blood in connection with their religious ceremonies. This groundless rumor did not start until some time about the middle of the twelfth century, and although it was sifted to the bottom shortly afterward in the thirteenth century by Frederick II. of Germany, who, by public decree, exonerated the Jews fully from the charge, supporting his judgment by unanswerable reasons, such, for example, as the Mosaic law which forbids a Jew to taste blood, it has continued down to our own times, and was the pretended occasion of the outbreak at Kishineff.

It belongs to that class of human delusions which led even so good a man as Sir Matthew Hale and our own Puritan forefathers to believe in witchcraft, and to show the sincerity of their belief by hanging and burning witches. It is a pure figment of a disordered imagination, vitalized and made virulent by racial prejudice, and has no more real existence than the wildest phantasy of the craziest inmate in Spring Grove. Swayed by these passions, armed with all the weapons of deviltry, this mob was let loose to work its cursed will unrestrained by law or mercy for three days against helpless unarmed men, women and children; yes, even babes at the breast, who were snatched from the arms of pleading mothers and hurled through windows into the streets along with the household furniture, and the very cradles in which they were rocked.

Old men who in the course of nature must soon have quietly paid its debt; venerable priests with their trembling hands upon the altar and clothed in their sacerdotal robes; mothers in the midst of their shrieking children; wives alongside of their husbands were indiscriminately shot down, hacked to pieces, torn and mutilated by these frenzied fanatics, as much worse than wild beasts as man in his power for mischief and the multiplied instruments of death and destruction is superior to the lion and the tiger at his best. From April 20 to the close of the 22d these scenes of bloody murder and outrages of a description worse than death were repeated in the streets of the capital of Bessarabia, to the accompaniment of horrors that the Indian savage or the red-handed Septembrists of the French Revolution never surpassed. The number who were butchered suggests war rather than assassination. The wounded and injured in more or less stages of helpless mutilation amount into the hundreds, and in addition to this appalling loss of life and limb there must be taken into account a wanton and wholesale destruction of property which has left the survivors penniless in a land already cursed with poverty.

This is the story, the plain, unvarnished narrative of one of the most horrible and revolting crimes against the sanctity of human life that has ever been perpetrated within the limits of a civilized country. To go a little more into detail, it would seem from such advices as can be had that the Jewish Hospital in Kishineff is crowded with the wounded; that vanloads of the crippled and mutilated were sent to Odessa; that 700 houses and 600 stores were looted; that the very air was filled with feathers from beds that had been ripped open and destroyed: that the streets were piled up with the wreckage of furniture; that prosperous persons who never knew what it was to want for anything were glad to get a crust of bread; that synagogues were pillaged and defiled, and that all this hideous work was carried on to the cry, "Kill the Jews!" There can be no question as to the motives that impelled these wretches, and there would seem to be as little as to the indifference, if not the positive sympathy of the local authorities, who with armed forces near at hand allowed the riot to run on for three days before any forcible action was taken to put an end to the outrage.

The first question raised by it is, Who is responsible? and the second, How can that responsibility be enforced, if at all? Mont Pelee explodes in a ruinous eruption and 30,000 people lose their lives at one fell stroke. We are paralyzed by the immensity of the disaster, but on recovering from the shock can only say it was God.

A ship goes down at sea with all on board and is never heard of again, and here we stand, too, impotent in the presence of the disaster, and so there are many calamities involving loss of human life that must pass like the storm or the earthquake unquestioned and unavenged. But is this one of them? Is there nothing more to be done than to recognize the calamity as one of those unavoidable freaks of fate for which the only possible relief is the repair of the damage as far as possible, just as we rebuild after a fire or a hurricane? Dr. Felix Adler is reported as saying that he would take no part in a public protest against this outrage unless the Czar was excused from all responsibility for it, and in one sense he is clearly right, for the Czar personally had no more to do with it than any one of you before me now. He is usually represented as a kind-hearted and broad-minded man, with humane instincts that have carried him to the length of proposing to get rid of war and bloodshed altogether, and it would be very wide of the mark and unjust to claim that he had any part in actually provoking the outrage or any sympathy with the fanatics who were guilty of its perpetration.

But is there no sense in which the American people may lift up their voice in protest against a crime of this magnitude with the right to believe that it will be heard and heeded even by the governing class of Russia? We have always been on friendly terms with this great power that in her forward movement resembles a glacier slowly grinding down with irresistible momentum to the Mediterranean on the one side and the Pacific on the other, and with no desire to increase the staying power of the forces that are interested in preventing that stealthy and crushing advance, and particularly with no desire to have the United States counted among the retarding forces. The United States, speaking in a governmental sense, is what the people of the United States declare it shall be. Public opinion is omnipotent here, and sooner or later is reflected in the written law and the public policy of the country.

No foreign power can long maintain the good-will and respect of the government of the United States that does not enjoy the confidence and respect of the people of the United States, because the people here are in fact the government. Now I was amazed to learn when I was in Berlin last summer that if I desired to make a visit to Russia, which I was then contemplating, it would be necessary for me to make an affidavit before the American consul declaring my religious belief before my passport would be vised by the Russian consul. I could not understand what my views or beliefs in religious matters had to do with the privilege of travel in a foreign land, or why my passport, under the great seal of the United States, should be converted into a sort of profession of faith. I was determined to find out the cause of this extraordinary procedure, and finally learned that it was all aimed against the Jews, and that no Jew was allowed to go to Russia except temporarily on business, and that this device of making a traveler swear whether he was a Protestant, Catholic, Mohammedan or what not was simply an invention to prevent a Jew from entering the domain of the Czar.

Whoever is responsible for that regulation is responsible in part for the official recognition of the ignorant prejudice that prevails among the peasants and lower classes against the Jews, and to the extent of the encouragement given by that official recognition to this ignorant prejudice Russia is and ought to be held responsible for some share in this outrage by the enlightened public opinion of the United States and of the world. There was a time when it was fashionable to speak of a Jew slightingly here, and even in tolerant Maryland he was ostracised and denied the privilege of holding public office until 1826, a period quite within the memory of many men still living. Even in our own day, and in other countries besides Russia, the Jew has been compelled to confront this prejudice, and perhaps there is no country except our own where he not only enjoys equality under the law, but where he feels himself on equal terms with his friends and neighbors. But other countries are amenable to public opinion, not as brought to bear directly upon the government merely, but upon the people, through the agency of the press and other means of communication. France felt the immense power of this public opinion in the Dreyfus case, but the masses of France are much better educated and are much more responsive to this influence than the people of Russia. The masses in Russia worship two things—God and the Czar—particularly the Czar, and they cannot read.

If the whole 75,000,000 of people in the United States could be assembled in one vast mass meeting, with the President of the United States as chairman, and should adopt unanimously a resolution protesting against such barbarities as we are here to denounce, and the resolution should be published in every newspaper in the United States, the fact even that such a meeting was held would never become an operative idea in the consciousness of the masses of Russia as they now are. If, on the other hand, the governing powers in Russia (not meaning by this the Czar alone by any means) should make it known through the church and otherwise that the Czar was friendly to the Jews, and that these riots and murders were displeasing to him, and the policy of the government toward the Jew should be one of encouragement instead of repression, there would be a marked change in his conditions for the better. The point I am trying to make is that the public opinion of the United States must be brought to bear as far as possible upon the governing power in Russia and can expect but little help in the first instance from the masses of the people themselves.

The first thing, then, to do is to create this opinion, and this can only be done by an appeal to the sympathies, and at the same time to the interests of the people, and get the concentrated expression of both embodied in the public policy of the country. It is a comparatively easy thing to arouse sympathy with the downtrodden and oppressed, but it is not so easy to make the people understand that great questions of national policy are involved in these anti-Semitic demonstrations that periodically break out in the Old World. A man has a right to live and die where he is born. He comes into this world without his consent, and he leaves it in the same way, and the least privilege he should be permitted to enjoy is the right to spend the time while he is here as a free agent in the place of his choice. A man is like a tree. He gets rooted in the soil, especially with the great tap root of the family, and with all the minor social and business roots, so that his removal involves not only his own displacement, but all his affiliated ties and interests.

His transplantation to a foreign soil is always accomplished with a tremendous wrench to his own feelings and expectations in life, as well as to all who are dependent upon him for their stay and support. But the transfer involves consequences that spread far beyond his own family and personal welfare and seriously affect the country to which he has emigrated. For these reasons no country has the right to force any part of its decent population to leave their native domicile and settle somewhere else.

England was enriched by the persecutions in Holland and France; we, in turn, owe Plymouth Rock to the persecutions of the mother land, and in a larger sense the men who made the United States in the first instance and set it going on its wonderful career fled to escape the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune." But the time has passed for any phase of emigration which is not the free and unconstrained choice of the decent emigrant seeking to better his condition, and whose coming will be a loss to the country he leaves, and a distinct gain to the land of his adoption.

No country has the right to thrust upon another country the homeless and penniless victims of its own misgovernment who must either be taken care of here by the charitable, or sent back to where they came from, or left to starve. This is a matter that concerns deeply the welfare of the United States. It touches the pockets as well as the hearts of our people, and when they come to understand it we may look for effective remonstrance. It may be asked what concern have we with a riotous outbreak in Russia which has resulted in the loss of a few hundred lives and the destruction of a few hundred thousand dollars' worth of property? Why not let the Russians manage their own affairs and we attend to our own business? Have we not sins of our own of the same kind, although, thank God, not to the same extent, to answer for? Yes. But when Greece was under the heel of the Turks the Congress of the United States thrilled with the eloquence of Clay and Webster in her behalf, and Byron dreamed aloud of the hour when Greece might still be free.

The South American republics broke the fetters of the Spanish thraldom, and again the great heart of the United States leaped up in sympathetic response. The Cubans cried for help and the Stars and Stripes streamed at the head of our advancing columns up San Juan Hill on one side of the globe, and the guns of Dewey thundered at Manila on the other. Armenia sent us a despairing cry and the answer, quick as lightning, flashed under the sea, and only last summer the State Department sent a timely remonstrance to Roumania in behalf of the persecuted and distressed.

This is the historical reason, and if you require any other, I reply that the United States is its brother's keeper in a sense that no other country can claim. Into this great ocean of humanity of ours all the tributary streams of the globe have poured. Man, as distinguished from men, is represented here as he never was before. We are Americans above all else, it is true, but Jew and Gentile meet here on a common plane, made up of the representatives of every civilized nationality under the sun, and all constitute the body of American citizenship. We are our brother's keeper because all the world is brother to us, and so it will ever be as long as the Capitol stands or the flag flies from its summit.

One other thing ought not to be forgotten. Fine words butter no bread, and all the protests that we may make will not bring present relief to the injured and starving victims of this mob. Americans are the most generous people in the world, and now is the time for them to make a deep dive into their pockets and bring up rich stores out of the abundance with which the Almighty has blessed them. New York has responded with characteristic liberality. Let not Baltimore, in proportion to her means, fall behind.

"Brethren, sisters, mercy, mercy,
Grave and awful is the woe;
Hasten shrouds to wrap the dead,
Hasten to give the living bread."

Then Mr. Steiner read a letter from the Honorable Isidor Rayner, as follows:

DR. HARRY FRIEDENWALD.

Dear Doctor: I have explained to you and the gentlemen who called on me with you the reasons that prevent me from attending and taking part in the meeting to-day. No one can feel a deeper interest than I do in the cause that this meeting represents. I feel so profoundly upon the subject that it would be almost impossible to express not only my sympathy for these victims of persecution, but my resentment and indignation at the atrocities that are being inflicted upon them.

I have tried upon other occasions in vain to bring about some official action upon the part of the government which would tend to ameliorate the condition of these unfortunate sufferers. Despoiled of their homes, driven from their places of worship, deprived of human rights, robbed of their birthright and utterly unprotected by law, they appeal to us not only for relief, but to take some concerted steps which will bring to a termination this horrible chapter of affliction.

The time has come when temporary expedients should give way to permanent and united effort. I am confident that the free and intelligent people of this country do not fully grasp the situation that confronts millions of innocent beings in a land against whose laws or institutions they have committed no crime, unless it be a crime to worship God according to the traditions of our faith and the dictates of our conscience.

The policy of the Russian government is at war with the Providence of God, and if there is any justice in this world some way must be found which will cause its rulers to abandon their creed of intolerance and oppression, and in place of it establish the principles of justice and humanity. An earnest appeal from this government emanating from its legislative branches through the intervention of friendly offices, in my judgment, could bring about the desired result, and every effort ought to be made to obtain this action. It has been done at other times in our history, and it will be done now if a combined pressure is brought upon Congress to take action in the matter. I can only say to you that a thrill of horror fills every impulse of my being as I realize that in this age of progress and enlightenment the liberal governments of this world should stand by with supreme indifference as this procession of human beings marches on to the gates of martyrdom and despair.

I am willing in any way I can to unite with you in agitating this subject until the day shall come when this torture of the innocent shall cease and when they shall receive the human rights and human recognition that they are entitled to by every law of justice and humanity. This is all they claim.

God has given them this inheritance, and it ought not in this day of religious freedom to be in the power of any government upon the face of the earth to deprive them of it. Believe me, with the deepest interest in this great and sacred cause,

Yours truly,

ISIDOR RAYNER.

Dr. Hodges wrote as follows:

DR. HARRY FRIEDENWALD.

Dear Sir: Unable to be present with you this evening, may I be permitted to add my voice to the hundreds and thousands, yes, millions, of voices which should be raised in indignant protest, in every land, against the savage and inhuman treatment of the Jewish people in Kishineff on Easter Sunday last. Words fail to give expression to my feelings of horror and indignation as I read the details of robbery, cruelty and bloodshed, rarely if ever surpassed in barbarity. And it is with a feeling of shame that I read of all this being done by those who call themselves Christians.

On this account, it seems to me that the strongest and loudest protest should come from Christian people and Christian governments; that the shame and the dishonor thus brought upon the Christian name may be wiped away. With feelings of deepest sympathy for those who have been subjected to these atrocious crimes against humanity permit me to express the hope that the protest of all men, in every country, and of every creed, may be so loud, so strong, and so prolonged, that never again such crimes shall be possible, much less permitted.

J. S. B. HODGES.

St. Paul's Rectory, Baltimore, May 16.

When Mr. Steiner had finished reading the various communications, Dr. Franklin introduced Mr. Leon Greenbaum, who said, in part:

This is indeed a noteworthy gathering. Remarkable both for the character of the men who have addressed this meeting and remarkable for the spirit in which it has been held. I take it that there is no country in the world in which such a meeting could have been held except the United States of America, nor any time except in the nineteenth or twentieth century. The cause is the cause of humanity and the spirit is the spirit of civilization. Though the protest in this particular instance has been against the conduct of the Russian government, and though the immediate desire has been to relieve the poor unfortunates of Kishineff, if the outbreak had occurred in Armenia and the church had been destroyed; if mob violence had asserted itself on the Pacific slope and the Chinaman had been maltreated and the josshouse demolished; had the negro cabin in the far South been fired, or the miner's home in Pennsylvania been stoned by lawless rioters, the same enthusiasm should be manifested as is displayed at this gathering, and the same spontaneous expression of sympathy should be found.

While our concrete purpose is to remonstrate against anti-Semitic riots in a land of despotism, our larger aim is to create such a sentiment in every community that nowhere shall a lawless majority coerce a helpless minority. This is a meeting to wipe the torch, the stone and the shotgun from the list of modern implements. It is fundamentally a law and order meeting; a protest against the revival of medieval doctrines; a plea for the enforcement of modern ideals. It is not a sectarian gathering, nor held for the purpose of advancing the interests of any particular religion. We stand on the common religious platform of Judaism and Christianity.

The whole fabric of modern civilization is based upon the theory of the supremacy of law and order and of the equal right of all to protection from lawlessness and disorder, and this meeting is, therefore, not merely a protest against a particular exhibition of unrestrained violence, but is an illustration of the spirit of modern civilization, and is an indication of the desire of American citizens that all men in all places shall be subjected to no restrictions or limitations save those created by just laws fairly administered. And yet may I be permitted to say that if there be any people to whom this doctrine of universal brotherhood appeals with peculiar force, it is to the American Jew. For centuries the Jews' persecutions had no limits as to place, no bounds as to time. And yet, in spite of inquisition and ghetto, in spite of expulsion and apostasy, in spite of the relentless Spaniard and the implacable Russian, the Jew has survived.

The following resolutions were introduced and adopted:

WHEREAS, The cumulative reports of barbarous murders and atrocities committed upon the Jewish inhabitants of Kishineff and its vicinity no longer leave room for doubt that a state of things prevails there which is without a parallel in the history of our times, and which has driven many thousands of persons from their homes in terror of their lives; and

WHEREAS, These outrages are but the natural outcome of the oppressive and cruel laws which for almost a quarter of a century have weighed upon the Jews of Russia, acting as a constant incitement to the evil passions of the populace; and

WHEREAS, The Russian government, in spite of ample warning of the impending trouble at Kishineff, failed to take measures to prevent it, allowed the massacres to go practically unchecked for three days, and, so far as is known, has taken no steps for such adequate punishment of delinquent officials as is essential for the prevention of similar outrages in the future; and

WHEREAS, The sufferings of the victims of these barbarities and the perilous situation of those threatened with similar visitations urgently demand on the part of those living in more fortunate countries, the exertion of all possible influence to bring about a remedy; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we express our profound sympathy with the victims of blind and cruel religious hatred and intolerance, and our abhorrence of a condition of law and government which makes such excesses possible.

Resolved, That failure to take the most prompt and effective measures to stop the spread of these barbarous outbreaks, and to give effective protection to the innocent Jews who are objects of them would constitute an indelible disgrace to Russia, in the eyes of the whole civilized world, the more so in view of the identification of the Czar of Russia with beneficent projects of peace, tolerance and reform.

Resolved, That in accordance with the traditions of humanity with which our own country has ever been associated, it is the duty of the United States government in all available ways to bring such influence to bear on the Russian government as may tend to bring about a cessation of these inhumanities.

Resolved, That we appeal to the people of the United States to call upon their representatives in Congress to give vigor and effect to the well-established traditions of this country in a proper protest against the violation of the principles of humanity and civilization involved in the outrages to which the Jews of Russia have been subjected.

After the resolutions had been read and adopted, Dr. Franklin introduced Mr. Roger W. Cull, who said, in part:

The time has come, in view of the recent events at Kishineff, when civilized nations must pronounce upon the position of Russia as an aspirant to the consideration and treatment due in international intercourse to all civilized powers. That pronouncement must be that by her continued resort at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries to the principles and practices of the Dark Ages, the Russian Empire has forfeited its place among the civilized governments of the earth. Beginning with the legal proscription of the Jews in the early 80's of the century just closed, Russia has brought the persecution and murder of great numbers of the race since the promulgation of the May laws to a culmination in the massacre of Kishineff, in the presence of whose horrors the civilized world to-day stands aghast.

Russia in Christian Finland, by breach of national faith, without example in modern times, not forgetting even the partition of Poland, is crushing out the constitutional liberties of a peaceful, industrious and loyal people, prohibiting the use of the native tongue not only in the public offices, but in the schools, where the youth of the country are being educated, ultimately aiming at the suppression of the Protestant religion, to which most of the Finns are devoted. Only to-day a dispatch from Berlin informs the world that the Russian government is taking all possible steps to oppress Roman Catholics in the province of Volhynia, on the Polish border. Catholics are not allowed to buy or inherit real estate. Schools using the Polish language are being closed, and the Napoleonic code, which had prevailed in the province, has been abolished and oppressive laws substituted for it. Nevertheless, while these measures have characterized Russian domestic policy, that nation has constituted itself, with incredible impudence and hypocrisy, the guardian of the lives and property of the Christians of Turkey, and the Czar sends from his soldier-protected seclusion messages of peace and good-will to all the world, along with mysterious hints and suggestions of religious tolerance, while his government is crushing out by its ethics all religions within the borders of the empire which are not in accord with the faith of the Greek Church.

What, then, must be the consideration given by civilized nations to a nation pursuing such policies as these, and yet seeking, as Russia does, admission into the society of civilized peoples, and claiming a position of equality among them? The answer to this question is plain. If the civilized peoples of the earth regard either conscience or self-respect as factors in their policies, they must demonstrate to Russian statesmanship that it is interposing against the interests of the Russian people obstacles which cannot be overcome until the Russian government furnishes uniformity of protection and treatment under her laws to all of her people regardless of race or religion, and that from these laws racial and religious hatred and discrimination must be eliminated, and, above all, that the cruel clutch of the director of the holy synod shall be released from the throats of Russian subjects whose conscience cannot subscribe to the creed of the Greek

Church. I do not know whether Russia can be taught anything, but if she can she must be taught such a sense of her responsibility to the opinion of the civilized world that her statesmanship and policies shall be alive and responsive to that opinion.

The American people are an acknowledged world power, fortunately situated not only to share, but to take the leading part in the discharge of the duties imposed upon civilized nations by the conditions in Russia to which I have referred. The United States cannot, from the geographical position of its territory on this side and beyond the seas, be justly or reasonably suspected by Russia of ulterior and selfish designs, if she protests against the failure of that empire to perform the obligations incumbent upon every civilized power. The protest, therefore, of this government would go to Russia unimpaired by any suspicion of selfish purpose, and such a protest would not, in my judgment, fail to have effect upon the Russian government as a striking evidence of the profound impression wrought upon the people of this country by the events which have taken place in Russia during the last quarter of a century.

Indeed, the opinion of the whole world has become so inimical to Russia as to constitute a serious and growing question of her title to the position and rights of a civilized power, and an impairment of her national prestige certain to effect ultimately her national interests. Russia has emerged from the barbarous interior of Asia, in contact with whose people she has formed her policies, and on all sides come in contact with the civilization of the world. She must, therefore, hereafter reckon with peoples who have and respect law and order, who are brought up to a love of justice and right, among whom public opinion makes laws and treaties and national policies, and who will not tolerate in their governments policies toward foreign nations based upon the prevailing diplomatic assumption that in the game of international politics all nations are alike, all equally without conscience and all equally a law unto themselves.

But we are told from Washington that the United States cannot interfere in this matter; that, unlike the Roumanian incident, there exist no treaty rights with any European power through whom we could bring Russia to an accountability for the crimes which she has committed. It might be sufficient to answer this objection by reminding the authors of the Washington dispatches of the fact that this country has been recently and justly proud of having written by the hand of Secretary Hay a new chapter in the book of world diplomacy, and that if we could write a new chapter in that book for the sake of trade, we might much better, and with more credit to ourselves, write another chapter therein for the sake of conscience and humanity. And, for my part, as an American citizen I do not hesitate to assert that that answer is enough to such an objection as this when addressed to the American people, whose traditions have been those of a people not afraid to be humane and bold enough to demand humanity of other nations.

Can it be true that since the United States became a world power we have lost our national conscience in order to fit ourselves for the dignities and rewards of our new position? If so, the American people have not advanced, but deteriorated, and their international policies hereafter must be a mere echo of policies wholly foreign to the long-established traditions of this country. I do not believe such to be the fact.

Mr. S. Wollman was then introduced by the chairman, and said, in describing the traits and conditions of the persecuted Jews:

You have listened to the appeal for charity, and you have not been unmoved by that appeal. But think not that your duty to your brethren is now fully absolved. No doubt your offerings can do more than better the conditions of those you seek to help, and wretched as is the economical situation of the Russian Jew, his sufferings assume an even darker hue when viewed from another aspect, for not only is he subject to the same despotic rule beneath which his Christian neighbors groan, but both the ruler and the ruled, the oppressors and the oppressed, forget their natural enmity and join in common revelry if only they can light a fiercer flame beneath the never-dying, ever-tortured martyr. Your money may be sufficient to buy him bread, but who can tell how long he shall enjoy even that poor crust in peace? For him there is no peace. The day of quiet is merely an anxious day of waiting for that which has come with unfailing regularity for him and his fathers before him. Every unusual clamor is to his expectant ear the voice of his neighbor thirsting for his blood. Is there any peace for a mind ever laden with such fears? Certainly not as long as he continues to make his home on the brink of volcanoes. Safety by flight is his only resort. And whither shall he direct his pilgrim steps?

That is a question which concerns not only him, but one over which you also must ponder. For there may be many of you who, although willing to give something of your wealth to help the Russian Jew, do not look with a welcome eye upon those same Jews if perchance they seek refuge at our own door. It is no longer a matter of whispered talk that the large influx of immigrants into this country is regarded by many as a phenomenon which is, to say the least, undesirable. One fears that wages will be lowered, another that our high standard of life will be endangered, a third that our political party will suffer pollution.

Now, I am not going to discuss the general question of immigration, but I must state as my opinion that as regards the Russian Jew you have by no means done your full duty when you send him alms to Russia and bestow upon him a scowl when he comes to seek comfort here. You owe him charity and a welcome. And the reason for such a welcome I shall briefly indicate to you. The provisions of nature are such that continued manual labor leaves a man with not sufficient energy or time to minister to the wants of his intellect. Therefore, we find that many who are on the verge of hunger are likewise suffering from mental starvation. Surely it is no disparagement to the hewers of wood and drawers of water to say that as a class they cannot, in the nature of things, attain a high degree of culture, but when we observe the life of even the poorest of Jews in Russia what amazement must seize the beholder's eye, how squalid their surroundings, how meager their comforts, how scanty their fare and with how much exhausting toil is even that little attained.

Surely you might say, Not here need we seek for thought's dominion. Yet look but a little closer. Do you see that group of men talking together? We recognize in them the very ones who have just risen from a day of dreary labor. But with what talk are they diverting themselves? Not with tales of the bar-room, nor with the story of a cock fight, or of the prowess of a pugilist. No; they are discussing some perplexing sentence of Moses' law, some acute suggestion of a learned commentator, some mystic metaphor of a rabbinical legend. Their recreation consists in the propounding of legal puzzles, in the solution of knotty problems of theology. The knowledge which they bring to bear upon this discussion may seem to you antiquated; their bearing useless. Their fervor is so much beyond the grasp of their Christian neighbors as the Bolaulus of Newton is above the grasp of him who cannot use his fingers to count three times five.

It is but rendering meager justice to the Russian Jew to say that he is the most intellectual of races. When a Russian Jew seeks a husband for his daughter, it is the champion of the school who commands the largest dowry. For his is the only community where learning and learning alone obtains the letters patent of noble work. No more sacred title can he bestow than that of rabbi—teacher. What an index is all this of the intellectuality of the Russian Jew! You see that by his very speech he is exalted before you.

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Dr. Franklin presented ex-Governor Whyte as the last speaker. Ex-Governor Whyte said, in his address:

For the last few days we have been inexpressibly shocked through private letters, individual communications and stray reports from the press, which have percolated through the barrier of international diplomacy, at the recital of the horrible outrages committed at Kishineff upon the Jewish people. Such brutalities, whether committed under the guise of doing God's service and in the perverted name of religion, or through the savage instincts which are the fruits of unrestrained license, rouse the abhorrence and condemnation of the guilty and invite the warmest sympathy with the victims. These conflicting emotions of righteous indignation and sympathetic sorrow belong to no race or nation, no sect or division of the church of God. It is the divine instinct that lies at the root of the brotherhood of man. Persecution can never be used in a righteous cause.

The Christian owes the Jew a debt of love and compassion. We of the Christian household of faith must never forget that the first Christians had been reared among the noblest traditions of the Hebrews. They had been educated to render, with strictest scrupulosity, unquestioning obedience to the law and a ritual. They had been taught amid the lax morals of their times the absolute duty of leading a holy and religious life. Whatever superstructure they built thereafter it was upon the solid foundation of the moral character of their early life. We are here to express, with the Jewish residents of this city, our horror at the massacre in Bessarabia and to unite, as best we can, in the relief of the sufferers in that awful tragedy. Life has been a battle with the Jewish people since the time of Nehemiah, when the Jews returned to build Jerusalem, for while they worked upon the walls every one with one of his hands wrought upon the work and with the other hand held a weapon.

It was the pursuit of the arts of peace under the panoply of war. In the seventieth year of the first century the capture and destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, under Titus, exceeded in horror all other records of human sorrow. It was at the great annual feast of the Passover; a million of souls had gathered in the city. The slaughter was enormous. Eleven hundred thousand people had been slain by the plague and the sword. Such human misery has no parallel in history. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries armed assaults had been made against the Jews, in which thousands had perished. In the sixteenth century innocent persons, almost without number, were butchered by a furious mob, and a vast territory fell under the contagion of fanatical slaughter and was steeped in human blood. The air was made hideous with the wailings of the dying and the mournings for the dead. We had supposed that the persecutions and plunder which marred the record of the Middle Ages was a thing of the dead past, although we have not forgotten the ill-treatment which the Jews of Russia received in 1881 and the three years that followed.

The fugitives in great measure looked to America as a harbor of refuge and of peace, and since they turned their faces thitherward our cities have been increased by the arrival of new recruits, constituting a busy element in our thriving municipalities.

We were not prepared, however, for the catalogue of facts which Israel Zangwill has just given us, nor for the melancholy story from the lips of Jacob Friedman, which prove beyond disputation that the barbarities of the Russians during the recent celebration of their Easter was more like the ferocity of the lion and the tiger or the wild animals in the jungles of darkest Africa than the work of human beings. Such a people should be blotted from the family of nations.

Sermons on the Kishineff massacre were delivered, in Baltimore, by Rev. Madison C. Peters, Baptist Tabernacle, May 24, 1903, and by Rev. Anthony Bilkovsky, Universalist Church, on June 7, 1903.

A mass meeting was held in Baltimore, on June 7, 1903, at Convention Hall, East Baltimore street. Speeches were made in Yiddish, German, and English. The speakers were Rev. James C. Hogan, pastor of Emanuel Meeting House; Dr. Joshua Ros; Louis Michael, editor of the German American (in German), and William Toole. Mr. Maurice Korf presided, and also spoke in Yiddish.

BAYONNE, NEW JERSEY

A meeting to protest against the Kishineff massacres was held at the Democratic Clubhouse, at Bayonne, N. J., on May 27, 1903. The meeting was called to order by Congressman Allen Benny, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, who explained the objects of the meeting, and introduced Mayor Seymour, who presided over the meeting.

Hugh H. Mara was then chosen secretary and Councilman Cronin selected to take charge of the subscription list.

The speakers were Rev. Father I. P. Whelan, of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church; Rev. Horatio Watts Maguire, rector of Calvary Episcopal Church; ex-Judge Thomas F. Noonan; Rev. W. H. Boocock, pastor of the First Reformed Church; Rev. S. J. Betts, pastor of the People's Baptist Church; Recorder Lazarus; and Colonel Charles W. Fuller.

The following resolutions were passed:

WHEREAS, The Jews resident in Kishineff, Bessarabia, Russia, have been subjected to the most horrible persecution, to tortures unnamable, to death itself in its most cruel, awful and revolting forms; and

WHEREAS, Russia seems altogether insensible of her duty to protect the weak and oppressed, therefore we do express our abhorrence at the massacres that have thus aroused our deep indignation and profound sympathy; that we express our grief for the dead, our sympathy for the living, our detestation of persecution of all or any kind, and our determination as opportunity arises to influence public opinion against all acts of tyranny and oppression and thus form a public conscience of the world to ensure peace, good-will and brotherly love among all men;

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the Secretary of State of the United States, that he may use the same in any way he may be warranted in expressing this nation's abhorrence and detestation of the Kishineff massacre.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

The following resolutions were adopted by Congregation Emanu-El, Birmingham, Ala., May 24, 1903.

WHEREAS, It came to knowledge of the entire civilized world that on last Easter Sunday the Jews of Kishineff, Bessarabia, were assaulted by their fellow-citizens, which ended in riot, robbery, arson, murder, and the violation of the person of their wives and daughters;

WHEREAS, The civil and military authorities permitted these outrages to continue for three days, without an effort to check the mob, and

WHEREAS, The Russian Government sought to make it appear, that the said outrages were nothing more than a bloodless affair, representing it as such to Mr. McCormick, our ambassador at St. Petersburg, and

WHEREAS, Count Cassini, the Russian ambassador at Washington, in an interview to The Associated Press, is reported to have made certain allegations, which, if made, we declare them untrue, and if so, were made with the intention to misinform and mislead the American people, therefore be it

Resolved, That Congregation Emanu-El of Birmingham, Ala., make a most solemn protest against the deception practiced upon our ambassador in St. Petersburg.

Resolved, That we believe and so charge, that Count Cassini, the Russian ambassador at Washington, is guilty of wilfully and maliciously misinforming the American people.

Resolved, That we also consider this an opportune time for the United States Government to demand the right for American citizens, to travel in Russia without any discrimination whatsoever on account of religious belief or conviction.

Resolved, That if these acts were committed as charged and specified in the foregoing, we declare that Count Cassini, the Russian ambassador, has forfeited the respect of our people and therefore request our Government at Washington to demand his recall.

Resolved, That Congregation Emanu-El, of Birmingham, Ala., in the name of humanity, enters its solemn protest against such atrocities, which were permitted to occur in the recent massacre at Kishineff.

Resolved further, That these preambles and resolutions be forwarded to the Honorable Simon Wolf, of Washington, chairman of Board of Delegates for Civil and Religious Rights, with the request to submit them there, to our State Department.

Respectfully submitted,

THE COMMITTEE,
By M. Newfield, Chairman.
Sam'l Ullman,
Mrs. Sidney Hart,
Mrs. M. Lenk,
A. B. Loreman,
Bertram Jacobs.

At the call of a committee of citizens a mass meeting of the citizens of Birmingham and of the Birmingham district was held June 1, 1903, at the Jefferson Theatre. Nearly a thousand persons were present, among them, seated on the stage, Rufus N. Rhodes, chairman of the meeting; Mayor W. M. Drennen, Dr. A. P. Montague, president of Howard College; Dr. J. H. Phillips, superintendent of the Birmingham public schools; Rev. J. P. McFerrin, pastor of the First Methodist Church; Rev. Father P. A. O'Reilly, of St. Paul's Catholic Church; Hon. J. H. Miller, Rev. Willis Barnett, Baptist minister and editor of the Alabama Baptist, the organ of the Baptists in Alabama and throughout the South; Honorable John B. Knox, of Anniston, president of the last constitutional convention; Joseph B. Babb, managing editor of the Birmingham News, secretary of the meeting; Robert Jemison, president of the Birmingham Railway, Light and Power Company;

Samuel Ullman, member of the Birmingham board of education; Rabbi Morris Newfield, of Temple Emanuel congregation, all of whom addressed the meeting.

Letters were read in the course of the evening from Judge Samuel E. Greene, Rev. Dr. Thomas J. Beard, ex-Governor Joseph F. Johnson, and Colonel T. G. Bush, and a telegram from Major Frank Y. Anderson.

Mr. Rhodes, in calling the meeting to order, said:

We have assembled to-night, as is our right in this land of liberty, that our sentiments and convictions, under our constitutional privilege of free speech, shall find expression and go to public record concerning the outrages and atrocities recently perpetrated upon an unoffending people at Kishineff, Russia.

The hearts of the people of Birmingham and the Birmingham district throb in unison with the great heart of civilized mankind, in generous sympathy with the oppressed and distressed of every clime, whatever their nationality, creed or condition. This sympathy is one of the precious legacies bequeathed to the American people by the fathers of the Republic who conceived and created this government under the inspiration of an unquenchable love for liberty and an insatiable greed for justice for all men everywhere. It is our birthright to heartily despise injustice and tyranny, oppression and persecution by law or lack of law, by government or mob. As a free people, we defiantly resent interference with any one of God's children, however humble, in the manner of his worship of his Creator, or lawful endeavor to earn an honest livelihood.

Words can not be harnessed together strong enough to translate the righteous indignation of the American people over the infamies of the Kishineff riot.

Mr. Knox said, in part:

I esteem it a privilege to participate in this meeting, and to express my hearty sympathy with the broad spirit which inspired it. This meeting and similar meetings which have been and are being held in different parts of the country, show how each year the world is drawing closer and closer together in all that stands for the protection, as well as the betterment and elevation of humanity.

The attitude of Russia towards its Jewish population has always been incomprehensible to me. The Jew is condemned there by Count Cassini, the Russian ambassador to this country, because he would not ply the avocation of agriculture, and yet an inspection of the laws of Russia shows that the Jew in that country is barred from the ownership of land.

And so it seems in Russia the Jew is to be damned if he does, and to be damned if he don't.

Why, in our government, and in every government, the Jew is the greatest conservative force—he stands for law and order.

Talk about your old families, here is the greatest aristocracy the world ever saw—a people who can trace their lineage back through a period of 4000 years.

The world is indebted to the Jew for Moses, not only the greatest of lawgivers, but the highest type of the patriot and statesman—a man who was great enough to choose rather to suffer affliction with his own people, than to feast upon the fleshpots of Egypt—or, to quote the text more accurately, to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season.

The South can never forget that she owes to this wonderful race the gift of Judah P. Benjamin, a man, who with splendid ability stood at the helm of state, during the hours of her sorest trial and greatest need.

Mr. Chairman, it is impossible to estimate our debt to the Jewish race—through them we get our Bible, our religion, our civilization, and our knowledge of our Maker.

It is our privilege, and should be our pleasure, to stand up in their defense whenever opportunity offers.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, It has come to the knowledge of the entire civilized world that on last Easter Sunday the Jews of Kishineff, Bessarabia, were assaulted by their fellow-citizens which ended in riot, robbery, arson and crimes too horrible for description, and

WHEREAS, The civil and military authorities permitted these outrages to continue for three days without an effort to check them; and

WHEREAS, The massacre perpetrated during this time was so heartrending and appalling that civilization stands aghast and right-thinking people of every nationality shudder with horror; and

WHEREAS, The American people have always stood for humanity; ever ready to extend the hand of succor to those in distress; ever alert to protest against wrong and injustice wherever committed; wedded to the principles of religious liberty and the equal rights of all men; and

WHEREAS, The people of Birmingham and the Birmingham district, in common with their countrymen, share the indignation excited by this foul blot upon civilization and this outrage upon humanity; therefore be it

Resolved, In mass meeting assembled, that the people of this community express their unstinted condemnation of the brutal outrages committed at Kishineff and enter their protest against persecution in every form and especially where innocent blood is shed; and not only extend their heartfelt sympathy to the victims of the riot, but call upon the Czar in the name of humanity and civilization to punish the perpetrators of the atrocities, and to extend protection alike to the people of every creed, and bestow the blessing of religious liberty upon all his subjects.

Be it further Resolved, That we earnestly urge our government at Washington to act in consonance with the true American spirit of humanity and justice by sending a remonstrance to the Russian government against the outrages perpetrated at Kishineff and appeal to that government to extend protection to its people in the civil, religious and political rights.

Be it further Resolved, That we also consider this an opportune time for the United States government to secure the right for American citizens to travel in Russia without any discrimination whatever on account of religious belief or conviction; and

Be it further Resolved, That a copy of these preambles and resolutions be sent to the Honorable John Hay, secretary of the department of state for the United States government at Washington, D. C., and to each of our senators and representatives in Congress, with the request to urge such action as to make them operative.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

A mass meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, May 17, 1903, under the auspices of the Boston joint relief committee, to raise funds for the suffering Jews in Kishineff, and to protest against the massacre of innocent men, women and little children in Russia. Mr. Meyer Bloomfield, chairman of the relief committee, presided, and addresses were made by Rabbi H. Masliansky of New York, the Rev. Charles G. Ames, the Honorable George E. McNeil, Representative James F. Carey, H. B. Blackwell, Max Mitchell, the Honorable M. F. Murray and others. On the platform were the Rev. C. F. Dole, Samuel F. Hubbard of the North End Union, Mr. and Mrs. Julius Andrews, Mrs. Max Mitchell and Rabbi Charles Fleischer.

Representative Carey of Haverhill said that the poor, ignorant man who, in his rage, might kill his brother, though of another race, might well be pardoned, but that the mighty ones of the earth, the men who hold in the hollow of their hands the power of the government of Russia and seek to raise race and religious prejudices, are the ones most at fault.

Mr. Max Mitchell followed with an urgent plea to contribute to the relief of the sufferers in Russia

Christian people all over the world, said he, condemn the outrages, and the best way for them to show it is by coming forward and helping this cause.

Mr. H. B. Blackwell said:

The complicity of the Russian government in the spoliation and massacre of its Jewish subjects is one of the blackest crimes of the age, and should arouse the indignant protest of every civilized community. It seems incredible that a nation which owes its religion to the Hebrews, which accepts the Hebrew scriptures as divinely inspired, which reveres Moses and the prophets, which worships a Jew as the Son of God and as God himself, should select as its unoffending victims the race to which it owes so much.

The causes of this savage outbreak seem partly theological bigotry, partly jealousy of the thrift and superior financial ability of the Jewish people, and partly a determination of the authorities to crush out every form of non-conformity. Catholic Poland, Lutheran Finland, Gregorian Armenia, the Mahometans of central Asia, and the disciples of Confucius in northern China must all be Russianized or exterminated. And now the Jewish people throughout this vast empire are being driven out or destroyed. They are hated because they are industrious and prosperous, and because they are loyal to their race and religion. Their success is regarded as a crime, and their best qualities are the grounds of accusation.

Let us demand of our state department an official remonstrance against the oppression which drives thousands of impoverished exiles to our shores! If we cannot directly interfere to prevent these atrocities, let us help these fugitives to make their homes in this new world.

The Honorable George E. McNeil spoke next, and he was followed by the Rev. Dr. Charles G. Ames, who said, in part:

I am tired and sick of the religion that does not restrain human vice and hatred; I am tired and sick of the religion that rolls its eyes to heaven and doesn't care who it steps on down here; I am tired and sick of the religion that does not know God from the devil. If my Christianity leaves me free to hate a Jew, and your Judaism leaves you free to hate a Christian, what is the meaning of any religion?

The Rev. H. Masliansky of New York, the main speaker of the evening, followed, and addressed the audience in Yiddish. In their native tongue he eloquently recited to them a tale of horrible cruelties perpetrated upon helpless women, young girls and children, which brought tears to the eyes of many of his audience. He told of a mother, outraged and insulted by Russian soldiers, whose 18-year-old son attempted to interfere, and was killed on the spot; of fathers and mothers forced to witness the outraging of their daughters, and the brutal torture of their young children; of young women tortured and put to death before the eyes of their sweethearts, and appealed to them to do what they could to relieve the sufferings of these poor people.

"What irony!" he exclaimed, in closing. "The Czar, the peacemaker of Europe and the butcher of his own subjects, turning a whole city into a butcher shop! Long live those young revolutionists suffering in Siberia and in Petropolevska prison. Long live they, and may their cause be ever strengthened."

The following resolutions were adopted:

WHEREAS, The massacre of Jews in Kishineff is a most direct and flagrant violation of those sacred principles of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for which this country bled and fought a century and a quarter ago, and

WHEREAS, This country has in that great hour been materially and morally aided by another liberty-loving republic, which sent its best fighting men freely and voluntarily to help win our victory; therefore,

We Americans, in mass meeting assembled in our sacred historic hall of liberty, protesting against the atrocities of Russia, which it has perpetrated on a helpless people, resolve that it is, this day, the sacred and imperative duty of the United States government to raise its voice of protest against Russia, and to intercede on behalf of our suffering Russian brothers.

A mass meeting was held on May 31, 1903, in the Dudley Street Opera House, Boston, Mass., under the auspices of the Zionist Council of Boston. The Chairman of the meeting was Isaac Harris, President of the Zionist Council, and it was addressed by Congressman Sullivan of the Eleventh District, Michael J. Murray, Henry B. Blackwell, and the Rev. A. H. Plumb, pastor of the Walnut Avenue Congregational Church, Roxbury.

The following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That the citizens of Boston, in mass meeting assembled, believers in the fullest freedom of conscience and abhorrent of outrages upon men because of their religious opinions, view with alarm and indignation the recent massacre in Kishineff by an ignorant and fanatical populace.

Resolved, That we call upon the United States Government, as the world's greatest exponent of liberty, to protest against this barbarous assault upon human life and to demand of the Czar of all the Russias protection against a repetition of the calamity.

Sermons on the Kishineff massacre were delivered, on May 31, 1903, by Rev. Charles A. Crane in the

People's Temple, and Rev. Herbert S. Johnson in the Warren Avenue Baptist Church, Boston.

BRADFORD, PENNSYLVANIA

A sermon on the Kishineff massacre was delivered by Rev. S. Berney, at the Universalist Church.

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

A mass meeting was held under the auspices of the Israelite Alliance of America, in Temple B'nai Sholaüm, Brooklyn, N. Y., on May 10, 1903.

"The persistent and consistent policy of Russia," Nissim Behar said, "has been to discriminate against the Jews, not only against their own Jews, but also against those coming from other countries, even against American citizens of the Jewish faith, although armed with passports. Russia may officially deplore the massacres, but by her conduct toward the Jew she is morally responsible for their occurrence."

Other speakers were Rabbi Alter Abelson, Lewis B. Michaelson, and A. H. Simon. The following resolutions in condemnation of Russian massacres and in favor of calling for aid upon the Christian world were passed:

WHEREAS, The civilized world has been shocked by the recent massacres and outrages committed at Kishineff on a defenseless people, because they worshiped the faith of their fathers; and

WHEREAS, These outrages were committed because of racial and religious hatreds that have no foundation in reason or in morals;

Now, therefore, We, the Israelite Alliance of America, at a meeting held in Brooklyn, on the 10th day of May, 1903, do

Resolved, That we protest against these outrages in the name of humanity and in the name of eternal justice; and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon the Christian world to register its protest against these outrages, committed under the guise of religious fanaticism, and receiving its stimulus from outworn and vicious blood accusations.

BUFFALO, NEW YORK

A meeting was held on May 18, 1903, which was addressed by Rabbis Franklin and Aaron, and Police Justice Thomas Murphy. Dr. I. Aaron said, in part:

This violence in Russia is the fault of the government, the fault of the aristocracy, the fault of the police, the fault of the soldiers, but we know that the real cause is the lack of strength, the lack of the fear of heaven. Everything is in the power of these cruel tyrants; it would seem that not even God could change these brutal hearts. They are ignorant, and must be uplifted by education, by religion, by high moral doctrine, which, alas, are lacking in Russia. Russia has no fear of heaven, and we have no power to stay the hand of the Czar.

And the worst of it is, it is not all over. We have been bowed down by the terrible atrocities that have been committed, but we are in terror of what is to come. "A handful does not satisfy the lion," and I fear this handful of victims of the massacre will not satisfy the Russian bear.

We must aid those who remain in a practical way, by giving them money, giving them the sinews of war to resist the war that has been made upon them. And there is one other thing: There is a refuge for the downtrodden—America, the land of freedom, of honest hearts. of noble minds, this magnificent country filled with men whose hearts rise to heaven day after day. We must make America a place of refuge for our downtrodden brethren, make it a place where Jews will act so, live so, labor so, that they may lift their heads in honor and be above reproach and criticism.

The American Baptist Missionary Union, at a session held in Buffalo, New York, on May 23, 1903, adopted a set of resolutions, signed by the presidents and secretaries of the Baptist national societies, to be transmitted to the Secretary of State:

The recent massacre of the Jews in Russia calls for our sympathy, our prayers and our protest. So far as the American public knows, these terrible atrocities were committed with the knowledge, if not the guilty connivance, of the Russian authorities, both in Church and State. Speaking for more than four and one-half millions of American Baptists, whose spiritual ancestors suffered persecution even unto death, through centuries, in every European country, and whose brethren are enduring persecution and social ostracism in many countries to-day, we lift up our voice against these latest horrors in Kishineff. As the advocates in all ages of complete religious liberty, we plead for it now, at least to the extent of insisting that innocent men, women and children shall not be butchered for their religious beliefs. We ask for the prayers of all our people to this end, and ask that our government let it be known that the convictions and sympathies of the citizens of the United States condemn the Kishineff outrages upon the common rights of humanity and of a helpless race.

Resolved, That a copy of this memorandum and protest, duly signed, be transmitted to the Secretary of State of the United States, and a copy to the ambassador of the United States at the Court of St. Petersburg, Russia.

LEMUEL MOSS,
ALBERT COIT,
A. C. OSBORN.

At a meeting held in Buffalo on May 25, 1903, the following resolutions were adopted:

WHEREAS, A certain horrible and cruel massacre of Jews has occurred at Kishineff, Russia, and, whereas, one Count Cassini has seen fit to take up the cudgels of defense in behalf of Russia,

Now, therefore, we, a body of men and women, residing at Buffalo, N. Y., do hereby record our protest, and do resolve upon the following facts:

First—It appearing from all reports that the police of Kishineff not only failed to protect the helpless Jews, but prevented the able-bodied from self-defense, we do charge the Russian police with a guilty complicity in all the murder and pillage which occurred at that place on that occasion.

Second—It being proven by reliable information, that the vice-governor of Bessarabia hid himself in his palace and refused protection to the Jews during the murderous riot, after having first deliberately lulled to sleep any suspicions of impending danger, we do hereby openly charge the said vice-governor with a full knowledge of and a criminal assistance in the said slaughter and pillage.

Third—It being the only defense of Count Cassini that the cause of the riot was not the hatred of Russia against the Jews, but the personal odium of the peasant against the money-lender, we do hereby charge the said Count Cassini with a singular weakness and insincerity in his defense. And we do further charge him that there can be upon this mortal earth no justification or palliation of such sickening crimes as were recently enacted in his land.

Fourth—We do openly avow that the cause of the riot can be traced directly to Russia's hereditary animosity against the Jew as creed. And we do further charge Russia with a partial, unscrupulous and unfair treatment of its Jewish inhabitants, as is unequivocally proven by its refusal to admit a Jew to full rights of citizenship, its debarring him from nearly all the professions, its excluding him from living in certain places, its restricting him from holding land or tilling the soil, save in a few special districts, and lastly, by its cruel expulsion of whole masses of Jews from time to time, without any reason whatsoever save the arbitrary work of a tyrannical Czar.

BURLINGTON, VERMONT

A mass meeting was convened by Mayor Hawley.

CAMDEN, N. J. (*see* PHILADELPHIA, PA.).

CHAUTAUQUA, NEW YORK

On July 11, 1903, Rabbi Moses J. Gries addressed the Chautauqua Assembly, in the Amphitheater, on "The Jew, Past and Present." In the course of his address, he said:

> We are reminded of the "traditional friendship" between Russia and America. Therefore nothing must be said in America, and surely nothing done in America, that may mar this friendship. At the same time, we are bluntly reminded that with little grace can we protest against Russia, when north and south our own land is guilty of race riots and negro lynchings. Russian Jewish persecution and American negro lynchings are not the same. The negro lynchings are race riots, north and south—are not condoned by the government, and are not justified by those in the high places. They are not applauded and defended by intelligent, thinking people throughout the land. Lynchings occur in the United States, not because of, but in spite of, the law of the Republic.
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> The anti-Jewish riots in Russia are applauded and defended by those in authority. They occur in Russia because of anti-Jewish laws, cruelly enforced.
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> There is no real sympathy between America and Russia. Whatever be the traditional friendship of the past—whatever be the truth of the story of Russia's saving the Union, America and Russia in principles and ideals have little in common. There can be no real sympathy between democracy and despotism.

Russia is not a civilized nation. She is the barbarian of Europe. The civilized world has not forgotten the horrors of Tien-Tsin, and the Russian brutalities in China. You remember the looting, the destruction of property and life, the unspeakable brutality to women, the slaughter of children—babes being tossed on bayonets in inhuman savagery. Tolstoi, the most distinguished and the most humane of Russians, has said: "The French people will lose prestige by becoming the allies of the most despotic, retrograde and cruel government of Europe."

The persecution and hatred of the Jews is due chiefly to religious fanaticism. The anti-Jewish riots in Eastern Europe, break forth at the Easter season, not because of a chance coincidence. Anti-Jewish riots come at that time because effect follows cause. The Jew is hated and persecuted for the crime—the sin—of being a Jew.

Know you the story of the blood accusation, almost every year brought against the Jew—that for the Passover, the Jew needs the blood of a Christian child, to make the Passover cakes? The story has circulated from mouth to mouth, round the world, for hundreds of years; it is believed by ignorant people, aye even by judges sitting in the seat of judgment—the story is false, without a shadow of truth—and priests still treasure in their hearts the old hate against the Jews charged with responsibility for the death and crucifixion of Jesus.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

A meeting was held on May 17, 1903, in the synagogue of the Congregation Anshe Kalvaria, Union and Twelfth Streets. The speakers who addressed the meeting were Leon Zolotkoff, Esq., Grand Master of the Knights of Zion; Julian Mack, Esq., Rabbi Glek, and B. Horwich, chairman of the Relief Committee.

Bishop Samuel Fellows, St. Paul's Reformed Episcopal Church, and Dr. A. R. White, Stewart Avenue

Universalist Church, delivered sermons on Kishineff, on May 17, 1903.

The Chicago City Council, on May 18, 1903, passed the following resolutions:

The preliminary clauses of the resolutions, which were introduced by Alderman Jozwiakowski, recite that American citizenship recognizes the right of all people to worship God in whatever manner they see fit: that men in all countries should be allowed to "work and to pray" without interference; and then continue, in part:

WHEREAS, We hold that any effort to crush the religion or national sentiments of the people is not only dangerous to the people at home, but is injurious to the world at large, and strikes at the root of peace, harmony, and happiness of nations; and,

WHEREAS, The entire civilized world is appalled at this revolting horror in far-off Russia, and every American's heart is made sad by the reports of the cruel and merciless murders of innocent women and children; and,

WHEREAS, True to the principles and traditions of this country, the people of this country have always been the champions of liberty and opponents of oppression, and inasmuch as the slaughter of the innocent Jewish people in Russia is an attack upon religious and civil liberty and is an insult to civilization and humanity;

Be it Resolved, That it is the spirit of this representative body of the city of Chicago to most earnestly deplore the horrible massacres of the Jewish people in Russia, to most emphatically protest in the name of humanity against their continuation, and to most heartily support all efforts to allay the suffering of the victims of the bloody atrocities, and to hereby publicly arraign the massacres as brutal and criminal.

Be it also Resolved, By this city council, That we take part in the efforts now put forth by many citizens of this city to give both moral and substantial support to the suffering Jewish people in Russia; and, further, that the city clerk forward a copy of these resolutions to President Roosevelt and to the Secretary of State.

A meeting was held on May 18, 1903, at the Star Theatre. The speakers were Miss Jane Addams, Peter Sussman, Esq., and Clarence Darrow, Esq.

Miss Addams said, in part:

The laws of Russia have kept the Jew away from the soil. As a result the Russian peasant has been the producer of the harvests, while the Jew has been forced to a commercial life. To him the peasant sold his harvests, and he often found that the Jew not only bought present harvests, but had a lien on future harvests.

The animosity engendered in the fact that the one led an agrarian and the other a commercial life was further increased by the distinction made between them in Russian laws. There was no justice in the court for the commercial Jew against the Russian peasant, and the distinction was noted in other ways, sufficient to keep the two classes apart and antagonistic. This was due primarily to the laws, which failed to give the Jew an opportunity for legitimate life on the soil.

We are here to express our disapprobation of Russia's cowardice in failing to protect her citizens from massacre, and we are here also to seek a remedy. Perhaps the saddest part of this all is that it has broken down the sentiment that all over the world was leveling ranks and obliterating race prejudice. It has put civilization back to that extent. Let us hope that it will also react, by calling attention to this unjust prejudice, in assisting to remove it. In addition to the sorrow we feel for the poor victims and sufferers let us also turn to the mystery in which these outbreaks had their roots.

Let us daily do what we can to allay this horrible race hatred which has been at the bottom of so many horrors in the past.

Mr. Darrow said, in part:

What can we do for those who have suffered and who may suffer because of this prejudice against the Jew in Russia? This nation cannot interfere, except by moral suasion.

The Seventeenth Triennial Council of the Reformed Episcopal Church, at a meeting held in Chicago, May 21, 1903, passed resolutions appealing to the Czar to prevent suffering among his subjects.

A meeting was held on May 29, 1903, by the North Chicago Hebrew Association at the synagogue at La Salle Avenue and Goethe Street. Addresses were delivered by Rev. Dr. E. Schreiber, Rabbi Hirschberg, Bishop Fallows, and others. Bishop Fallows said, in part:

It is on such an occasion as this that we should call a halt to the despotic nations of the earth, and in the name of humanity demand that this death-dealing anti-Semitic spirit cease. I do not know what the United States can do in this case, but I know that this government will exert its powers and privileges to the utmost in the interests of a downtrodden people.

The following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, By the members of the Jewish community of the north side of Chicago, in mass meeting assembled, That our government at Washington be requested to use its good offices with the authorities of Russia in order that the hand of persecution be stayed, as well as to redress the wrongs done to our co-religionists; also that they exercise their control over their subjects so that the terrible scenes of the last few months may never be repeated.

Copies of the resolutions will be forwarded to President Roosevelt, to Secretary of State Hay, and to the chairman of the committees on foreign relations of both the House and Senate.

CINCINNATI, OHIO.

A meeting was held by the citizens of Cincinnati, on May 18, 1903, at the Chamber of Commerce. About one thousand persons were present. Captain J. D. Ellison, president of the Chamber of Commerce, introduced General Michael Ryan as Chairman of the meeting, who said, in part:

> It is eminently proper that from this city, where the Hebrew has grown to the full stature of patrician manhood and patriotic citizenship, a voice should first be raised denouncing the Russian barbarities, and our expressions here to-day will be joined in all over the country, and no doubt will be effective, thus adding another achievement, which will redound to the honor and glory of Cincinnati.

General Ryan then called upon James T. McHugh to read the report of the Committee on Resolutions, which was as follows:

> WHEREAS, The newspapers of our country are daily receiving and presenting accounts of horrible and unprovoked massacres of Jewish people in certain parts of Russia; and
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> WHEREAS, The detailed statements of these tragedies are so appalling and heartrending as to make civilization stand aghast and to cause us to doubt that such things could happen in a so-called civilized country in the light of the twentieth century; and
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> WHEREAS, The authorities of the government of Russia have failed to check these cruel outrages on a peaceable and inoffensive people, and from Kishineff, where 200 are reported as having been murdered and at least 500 wounded,

others having escaped such fate only by fleeing from homes, we are advised that the soldiers did little to protect the unfortunate from the fury of the mob, seeming to be in league with the perpetrators of these acts; and through a despatch from Odessa to one of our daily papers comes the statement that for the extent of the outrages, for the cruelties practiced and the tortures inflicted on the hapless people the inactivity of the soldiers is largely responsible; and

WHEREAS, We class the Jewish people as among the best, the most useful and the most patriotic of our citizens—a people who have contributed their full share to make our nation what it is to-day—broad, liberal and tolerant in their views, and staunch upholders of civil and religious liberty; therefore, in view of the cruelties practiced upon their brethren in Russia, we join with our Jewish fellow-citizens in expressing horror of the awful massacre and of surprise that the Russian government has not promptly applied the most strenuous measures for protection from mob violence the lives of innocent and peaceable people; therefore,

Resolved, That as American citizens we abhor persecution, violence, and the shedding of innocent blood, and that the recent occurrences in Russia, which are a stain on modern civilization, justify and call forth our most earnest protests, making it imperative to urge upon the Russian government prompt action in securing to these injured people all the protection which civilization recognizes as belonging to all persons everywhere and punishment of the perpetrators of such atrocities.

Resolved, That we urge our government at Washington to act in the interest of common humanity by sending to the Russian government a remonstrance against the occurrences here recited, and that we request civil, political, social and commercial organizations of the country to join in a protest which will voice the sentiment of this great free nation against the inhuman practices now prevailing in parts of the Russian Empire toward the Jewish people.

After the speeches the resolutions were adopted by a rising vote, with an amendment that a copy of them be sent to the Russian patriot and philanthropist, Count Tolstoi.

Letters of regret at their inability to be present, but expressing entire sympathy with the objects of the meeting, were read from Bishop Boyd Vincent, of the Episcopal Church; Archbishop William Henry Elder, and Rev. Frank Nelson, rector of Christ Episcopal Church.

The next speaker was Judge Rufus B. Smith:

The occasion which calls us together to-day is one that requires extended discussion in order that it may be treated satisfactorily; but the unavoidable circumstances under which we meet forbid such discussion. As the meeting is held in the middle of the day, with an attendance in large numbers of business men, and with a number of speakers to be heard from, it would be a violation of the proprieties of the occasion for any speaker to occupy more than a few minutes of your time.

Riotous outbreaks have not been uncommon in the history of the world, and are not unknown to us in our day and generation. They are confined to no one country, nor to any particular locality. If, therefore, the recent events in Russia were to be classed among those riotous outbreaks merely temporary in their character, and seeking the redress of some real or fancied grievance, with which it was supposed the law could not deal adequately, while the people of Cincinnati, living thousands of miles from the scene of the occurrences might deplore the occurrences and abhor the results which followed them, they would scarcely feel called upon to assemble in public to take action with respect to them.

But the recent events in Russia differ in important respects from ordinary riots; and to understand this fact it is necessary to understand, in a general way, at least, the position of the Jew in Russia.

The number of Jews in the world is estimated at ten millions, of which number about one-half reside in Russia.

They are not permitted, however, to live in any part of the Russian Empire they may select, but are compelled to live in certain designated territory known as "The Pale of Settlement." This territory includes a part of Poland and certain territory extending along the Western and Southern boundaries of the Empire.

But they are not permitted to live in any part of this limited territory they may select. They are not permitted to engage in agriculture, and are forbidden to live anywhere in the Pale of Settlement except in the towns and cities of the same; nor are all of these towns and cities open to them, but only such as the government may designate.

And, having once made a settlement in these designated towns and cities, they have no assurance that such settlement will be permanent, and in obedience to some new governmental order they are frequently and abruptly ordered to leave, rendered homeless, financially ruined and sent helplessly adrift.

As they are not permitted to engage in agriculture it would naturally be supposed that all the crafts and professions in the cities and towns in which they live would be open to them, but even such right is denied them because a limitation is placed upon the crafts and professions in which they may engage.

Cooped up in city ghettos, with a competition that is ruinous, they are submerged in a degrading poverty, from the vitiating effects of which they are protected only by their temperance, endurance and religious faith.

The right to receive an education is also denied them, as only a small percent of them are allowed to attend the schools of the country.

They live, too, under a special code of laws, and, while they are compelled to bear all the burdens of the ordinary Russian subjects, they are also compelled to bear many additional burdens, and yet are denied the civic rights to which such ordinary subjects are entitled.

Nor is it possible for them to know with certainty what the law is under which they live. The code is a jumble of inconsistencies, and is supplemented from time to time, as the government wills, by ministerial instructions and secret circulars.

The recent atrocities are but the culmination of a series of atrocities which have been occurring periodically in the Russian Empire, and that will continue to occur unless a public sentiment can be created in the civilized world which even the merciless government of Russia must heed.

I shall not dwell upon the details of these atrocities. Their character is almost unspeakable and their horrors almost indescribable. They have caused the death of thousands, crippled thousands more, and despoiled the living and the dead of millions of dollars of property, gathered together by a self-denial and a self-sacrificing that is the wonder of the world.

What is the cause of this persecution of the Jews? Many excuses and pretexts are made to justify it, but they are all lies. The persecution is a religious persecution, as is shown in the fact that if the Jew is willing to renounce the doctrines of his church, and to be baptized in the Russian Church, he is given the rights of the ordinary Russian subject; but if he is not willing to commit this apostasy he is regarded as a pest and treated as a criminal, and his persecution often permitted, and sometimes even promoted by the Russian officials.

But we are to be told that the press reports of these atrocities have been exaggerated. The truth is that they have been understated. No press report comes out of Russia without passing under the scrutiny of the official censor, and when the press reports which come to us are such as to appall us with the brutality, inhumanity and savagery of these atrocities, what must the real truth be?

We are also to be told that the Russian government is unable to suppress these atrocities. It can suppress free speeeh. It can suppress a free press. It can control with an iron hand every action of its citizen from his participation in public affairs to the minutest detail of his private life, and yet we are asked to believe that in the city of Kishineff, where either the military or the officials outnumbered the rioters, the government was not able to do otherwise than to throw into the hands of these bloody and savage Muscovites unarmed men, helpless women and children, and babes at the breast.

But we are asked—are we not powerless to prevent this persecution of the Jews in Russia? So far as physical intervention is concerned, we are powerless. But we have the right to protest against it, and by that protest help to create a moral sentiment in the world which even Russia cannot ignore. We have the right to have our protest sent to the authorities at Washington, and we have the right to request such authorities, in the manner which international usage permits, to have our protest called to the attention of the Russian government.

In voting for the adoption of the resolutions of protest each person will doubtless find in his own mind and heart sufficient reasons. For myself, I find many.

When George III. undertook to subjugate the American colonies, Edmund Burke declared that it was impossible to indict a whole people; and I protest against the attempt of the government of Russia to indict five millions of Jews as criminals.

I protest against the persecution of the Jews in Russia because I see in it the same persecution which for centuries has pursued the Jew. The time has come not to continue, but to cease the persecution of the Jew, and by fair and honorable treatment to make amends, in part, at least, for the monstrous injustice the centuries have inflicted on him. Neither the thumb-screw nor the rack, the torch nor the sword ever changed a man's religious opinion. They never will, and they never should, because a man's religion is a matter to be settled by him, not with some other man, but with his conscience and his God.

I protest, too, because I believe in the separation of church and state; that no religious test should be required of a man to entitle him to the rights of citizenship, and that it is no part of the function of government to tell a man how he shall worship God.

So long as a man by his religious professions and practices does not disturb the good order, peace and safety of society, the law has no right to molest him either in his person or his property.

I protest against the government of the Jews in Russia because it violates those eternal truths announced in the Declaration of Independence, that all men are born equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

I hold these truths not only to be eternal, but universal in their application, and limited neither by nationality, race, religion, nor climate.

I protest on grounds transcending all questions of government and religion—on grounds of simple humanity and simple justice.

I do not believe men were born to be murdered, women to be violated and murdered, and children to have their brains beaten out against the wall; and that what a man has justly earned that he may not justly enjoy.

And, lastly, speaking with all reverence, I protest in the name of the great Jehovah himself, God alike of Israel and of Russia—God alike of Gentile and of Jew.

Rabbi David Philipson was the next speaker. He described the awful scenes at Kishineff as follows:

It is Easter morn in the Russian town of Kishineff. The church bells are pealing loudly, the cathedrals are thronged with the crowd of worshipers celebrating the most gladsome day of the Christian religious year. The people greet one another with the words, significant of the season, "Christ is risen!" With the name of their Lord on their lips one would think that they had love in their hearts for all men, for He, whose resurrection they were celebrating, had come to preach peace on earth, good-will to men. In the light of what occurred in that city on that very Easter day, what a mockery seems that greeting, what a farce that salutation! Their lips uttered the name of Him whom they glorify as the Prince of Peace, their hearts harbored hatred and thoughts of murder, rapine, spoliation and violation against those of whom He, their Lord, was the brother in the flesh, whose fathers were His fathers, whose faith was His faith, whose God was His God. What a paradox! What a contradiction! What an anomaly! Jesus the Jew they bow down to and worship, to Him the clouds of incense ascend, His glory the choir chant, His perfection the priests extol; the brethren of Jesus, the Jews, they kill, their homes they loot, their children they tear from mothers' arms and dash to death on the stones; their helpless elders they mutilate; their daughters they violate. And of what unspeakable crimes are these victims of animal ferocity and inhuman atrocity guilty? Have they murdered? Have they robbed? Have they betrayed their country? Have they broken the laws of God and man? Are they dangerous enemies of society? Are they wild beasts in human form that prey on their fellow-men? Nay, none of this. Their crime lies in their being Jews, brethren of Him whom the Kishineff mob had hailed as Saviour on that gladsome Easter morn.

Dr. Philipson said that the world would show that humanity is not an empty phrase, that in this land we can rise above the lines of creed and sect; can put our individual prejudices aside and meet together on the high platform of humanity, forgetting the man-made differences in the God-made resemblances.

William B. Melish followed Rabbi Philipson. He said, in part:

The awful, unjustifiable, shameless slaughter of the Jews in Russia, merely because they are Jews, by a class of Russians who are besotted, depraved, lawless barbarians, and seemingly upheld by those in authority, calls for the indignation of the whole civilized world. The butchery of little children, the outraging of innocent maidens, the murder of parents and grandparents, the reducing to poverty by pillage and fire of those who were industrious, peaceable citizens, must excite the horror of every one who has a heart in his breast that contains any of the milk of human kindness. But indignation, no matter how strongly expressed, or resolutions, no matter how sympathetically worded, are cheap forms of relief. Pass your resolutions, brethren, but don't forget to pass a list for subscriptions for the relief of these oppressed and destitute people.

Rev. Charles F. Goss dwelt on the tendency of the influence of public opinion to rule the world better than the sword. He noted with pleasure that the time will come when there will be a great cosmic tribunal, which no ruler will dare disregard, and which will prevent such crimes against civilization as the massacres at Kishineff.

Rev. John M. Mackey, as the personal representative of Archbishop Elder, spoke as follows:

When Daniel O'Connell, the Liberator of Ireland, was in the height of his agitation for the emancipation and freedom of the Irish Catholic people from the last vestige of England's penal laws, and for the repeal of the union of Ireland with England—the shark with its prey—a number of planters and merchants at Charleston, South Carolina, held a meeting and subscribed a large fund of money to help O'Connell win the liberties of Ireland, and they wrote him a letter of encouragement, announcing the amount of gold in readiness, and subject to his acceptance. O'Connell replied to their communication:

"*Gentlemen:* The subscribers to the fund subject to my order, I note, are slave owners. With all due respect for your feelings, I have the honor to reply to your letter that consistency with the principles of liberty which I champion for the people of Ireland demands that I refuse the aid of gold wrung from the unpaid labor of slaves, and co-operation and sympathy from men whose heels are resting on the necks of slaves."

There was a time when we could not with propriety protest against oppression abroad, but now, thank God, conditions are changed. The flag of freedom, the Star-Spangled Banner, floats over the greatest republic the world has ever known—over the best nation on the face of the globe—over the mountains and the plains of the American republic, from the Gulf of Mexico to the St. Lawrence and Behring Straits—from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans. Our laws protect all men in their civil and religious liberties, in the right to worship God publicly as well as privately, according to the dictates of each one's conscience. We are one and all prepared to defend this principle of our government with every means at our command. And we have the right to defend an oppressed and persecuted race wherever found—wherever they may be. Thank God for it! The occasion which calls us together to-day is one which should appeal to every liberty-loving inhabitant of the globe, and most particularly to us American citizens, enjoying as we do liberty in its widest sense. The civilized world is horrified at the atrocities recently perpetrated against the Jews in Kishineff, Bessarabia, Russia. What is the use of protesting against a great power like Russia? Twenty-five years ago Michael Davitt protested against English land feudalism in Ireland. The bill to abolish it is awaiting the proper amendments before third reading in the English Parliament. The lands for the people and the landlords must go, is the title of the act, and Davitt is still living. Twenty-five years will see the Jews free in Russia.

The descendants of Eber or Heber, of the city of Ur in Chaldea, to which Abraham belonged, were called Hebrews, until the children of Jacob, who was distinguished by the honorable title Israel, went over into Egypt in the time of the great famine in the land of Canaan and were reduced to slavery in the land of Goshen, with all their descendants, for over four hundred years. In this time, despite the laws that sought their extirpation by the destruction of their male children, they multiplied and became a nation of 600,000 men, the women and children not counted, at the time of the Exodus. They were known as the Israelites in Egypt, and up to the time of the Babylonian Captivity. After Cyrus, king of Persia, conquered Babylon, he allowed the captive Israelites, who had sat and wept by the waters of Babylon, to return to their own country. The exiles who returned to Palestine belonged, for the most part, to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. They settled in Jerusalem and its environment, and took the name of Jews from the dominant tribe of Judah.

The Jewish people, instead of being placed by their law in antagonism to all other races, were, in fact, the help and the hope of the whole world, and could be considered as the nucleus around which, at some future day, all nations would be aggregated.

Custodians and guardians of the " Word that God spoke to man," amid the lightning flashes and the reverberations of the thunders of Sinai—theirs was the mission to mankind to make known the unity of God, His almighty power, His omniscience, His infinite being—absolute Being, Source and Creator of the universe—the remunerator of good and evil. The God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob is the one true and living God, who will reward obedience to His law with temporal and eternal blessings. Reverence to God was taught by the homage of sacrifice, morning and evening, in the temple, by daily family prayer; in the homes of Israel by the great festivals, when millions assembled at the Holy City to participate in the homage of worship as a nation, when one thousand trained male voices, accompanied by instruments, wafted the incense of the heart's devotion in the harmonies of song to the throne of God Almighty, while the altar of holocausts smoked with the victims of sacrifice, and the aroma of incense filled the sacred place. The millions camped around the temple and the city, and at the same time lifted up their hearts in loving adoration to Jehovah.

The Hebrew nation kept alive in the world the knowledge of the one true God, the unity of God, the dogma of the Providence of God. The one true and living God cares for men, and has His ends in view, and gains them in the course of human events. The Jews were exiled in Egypt, Babylon and Assyria, and dispersed throughout the Roman Empire and the world, and preserved by the Providence of

God in spite of the trying vicissitudes of their fortunes, for they had a plenty to discharge, and a mission to fulfil in the idolatrous pagan world; aye, and in the agnostic, materialistic, pantheistic, indifferent, irreligious and irreverent modern world. The atheists of our time do not deny God; they deny only His Providence and His concern for men.

The beautiful climate of Ireland is said to be due to the proximity of the gulf streams to its shores. The gulf stream flows onward from the equator without mingling with the bands of cold water that wall it in, and without losing itself in the ocean of waters that encompass it. It flows on at an elevation superior to the surrounding waters, and at a higher temperature.

So it is with the Hebrew nation. It is the only nation in the world that has preserved its identity, the purity of its blood and of its race. It has never been merged and lost in any other race or nation; it has followed the current of human history from the vocation of Abraham without being swallowed up in the ocean of humanity. The plane of its elevation was superior, for it knew God, worshiped God, and looked to God for guidance and support—temporal and eternal blessings, for the nations were immersed in idolatry and vice. The temperature of the Jewish nation was higher than that of other nations, for they were in possession of the full and clear laws of nature, as set forth in the decalogue. They loved God, and their neighbors for God's sake. The children of Abraham were the most enlightened, the most civilized, progressive and virtuous people of antiquity. The nations of the world owe a debt of undying gratitude to the Jews for the services which they, as a nation, have rendered humanity in the discharge of the mission assigned them, to keep the knowledge of the one true and living God from perishing in the world.

Our religion we have received through the Jews. The greatest saints in the Christian calendar were Jews. Can we forget our origin, the source of all that we appreciate, and disregard the womb that bore us? Professor H. Graetz' History of the Jews, issued by the Jewish Publication Society of America in Philadelphia, 1894, says (Vol. III, p.

25), as to persecutions of the Jews in all countries: "It is remarkable, however, that the Roman bishops, the recognized champions of Christianity, treated the Jews with the utmost toleration and liberty. The occupants of the Papal Throne shielded the Jews and exhorted the clergy and the princes against the use of force in converting them to Christianity."

And on page 639 it says: "Pope Innocent III. (1216 A. D.), like his predecessors, protected the Jews."

"In thee shall all the kindred of the earth be blessed" (Gen. xxii., 18), are the words addressed to Abraham by Almighty God, when he was called to be the father of this historic race. The great fact of the unity of the human race proceeding from one single pair has been preserved to mankind by the Jews. From them the race has derived the knowledge of the brotherhood of man. Is it any wonder, then, that our sympathies and our hearts should go out to them in the day of trial and suffering, and that we should extend to them the helping hand of fraternal friendship? Is it matter of surprise that we should lift up our voices in one great national shout of protest, to be caught up at Washington and sent in flashes of light over the Atlantic to arrest the sword of the oppressor and the cruel scourge of the barbarous, murdering, plundering canaille of Bessarabia? The Czar of Russia had better extend to the Jews equal civil and religious rights, and equal protection to the Jews as to all other citizens of his vast empire, or the scream of the American Eagle may remind him that he has interests in the Orient, and that the greatest world power the world has ever known has a mission to fulfil—the elimination of oppression from human society.

The last speaker of the meeting was Rabbi Louis Grossmann. He said, in part:

The shame that has come to the fathers and the homes in that fatal village in Russia has come to every man and every woman in this peace-loving and honorable Cincinnati. And if these villages in Russia have dared to invoke religion as the source of their hate and vice, then, before God and man, my faith, your faith, and every holy, pure thought and inspiration in this country and wherever a tower raises its symbolic head to the Father of Men has been desecrated, and we charge the Czar of all the Russias for having let go unpunished the besmirching of the altars of every nation and of every faith.

CLEVELAND, OHIO

All the Jewish societies of Cleveland united in a mass meeting at the Council Educational Alliance, on May 10, 1903, to protest against the occurrences at Kishineff. The speakers were Martin A. Marks, chairman, Rabbi S. Drechsler, Rabbi M. Machol, Rabbi Moses Gries, Jacob Furth, treasurer, Jacob Steinfeld, and Jacob Laufman, president of the Jewish Relief Society.

The following resolutions were adopted:

WHEREAS, The Kishineff massacre is unparalleled in the history of even Russian cruelties, where hundreds of innocent men, women and children were brutally tortured, violated and murdered, for no other reason than that they are Jews;

WHEREAS, Russia by her inhuman policy, restrictive and discriminative measures against the Jews, and by its anti-Semitic official press, incites and abets the Russian people to these outbreaks;

WHEREAS, This country has ever championed the cause of humanity and shown its love for justice by espousing the cause of the Cubans, and has thrown the weight of official opinion in behalf of the oppressed in Roumania; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the Jews of Cleveland, in mass meeting assembled, at the Council Educational Alliance, (1) express our heartfelt sympathy with the victims of the Kishineff outrage, and pledge ourselves to show it substantially by contributing to their immediate relief; (2) that we protest, with all our might, against the heinous crimes perpetrated on Russian soil and for which the Russian government should answer at the bar of an enlightened public sentiment; (3) that we call upon Americans to join in our protest against these wrongs, and liberty-loving people everywhere should denounce these crimes against humanity.

COLUMBUS, OHIO

The City Council of Columbus, Ohio, adopted the following resolutions on June 8, 1903:

WHEREAS, The story of the recent outrageous massacre of the Jews at Kishineff furnishes unquestionable evidence of the inhuman policy of the Russian people if not the government, toward the Jewish people who are among the most industrious, capable, thrifty and law-abiding of the citizens of that vast empire toward which our own government sustains most friendly relations, and

WHEREAS, This great cruelty is but another proof of the unfriendly policy of that government which has been for twenty years growing up in its laws and regulations respecting the civil and religious rights of the Jews, and

WHEREAS, These savage abuses of an inoffensive but most energetic and intelligent people seem to be based on no other reason or excuse, upon the part of the people of that government, than a sullen and revengeful hatred of religious and economic liberty arising out of wicked bigotry in matters of church and state, which in that nation are inseparably bound together, and

WHEREAS, This barbarous procedure upon part of the Russians has the inevitable effect of driving these terror-stricken people in great numbers to foreign countries and especially the United States for refuge, and

WHEREAS, The disabled and pitiable industrial, financial and social conditions of these helpless refugees, when arriving at our shores, brought about by a continual experience of unjust and extreme suffering at the hands of their oppressors in their own country, renders them unable to comprehend and assimilate the spirit of our laws and institutions and become independent and useful citizens of our republic as readily as they would otherwise do, and

WHEREAS, The policy of the abuse tolerated if not encouraged by the Russian Government is a gross violation of all of the principles and rules of political, religious and social justice, as between even despotic rulers and their subjects, recognized throughout the world, which policy has in the past and must in the future result in great loss and discouragement to all of the interests of enlightened government and life, and

WHEREAS, This exhibition of tyranny at the hands of the Russian people is most revolting to the people of this country who enjoy untrammeled political, religious and industrial liberty and are interested in promulgating and establishing the same privileges throughout the world, and

WHEREAS, All over our country there is a feeling of profound sympathy with the Jews of Russia, and their countrymen among us, in this great racial calamity which to be effective should have definite, forcible and official expression, therefore be it

Resolved, That the people of the city of Columbus, Ohio, through and by its Common Council, do hereby protest against this cruel and unreasonable policy and conduct toward the Jews at the hands of the Russians and by the tolerance of the government of that country, and do hereby extend our sincere sympathy to that suffering and oppressed people in this time of distress.

Resolved, That we believe the friendly offices of this and all other liberty and justice loving nations of the world should be exerted in behalf of the Jews in Russia to the end that justice shall be done them, and that a duly certified copy of this minute and resolutions be forwarded by the clerk of this Council to Honorable John Hay, Secretary of State of the United States, to be used or communicated by him as the justice and dignity of the situation may suggest to him to be proper.

The following resolution was adopted by the Ministers' Association of Columbus, Ohio:

Resolved, That the Ministers' Association of Columbus, Ohio, hereby expresses its abhorrence of the recent assault upon the Jewish community in Kishineff, Russia, as a violation of the spirit of our common Christianity and registers its earnest hope that the protestations of so many civilized and Christianized nations will be effectual in preventing all such atrocities in the future.

The above resolution was passed by the Presbyterian Union and the Methodist Association, and was then endorsed by the City Ministers' Union participated in by ministers of all denominations.

DALLAS, TEXAS

A meeting was held May 17, 1903.

DENVER, COLORADO

A meeting was held at Temple Emanuel, Denver, Colo., on May 24, 1903. Rabbi William S. Friedman presided, and addresses were delivered by Senator Teller, Senator Patterson, C. J. Hughes, Jr., J. B. Belford, and Rabbi C. H. Kauvar. Letters expressing sympathy with the purpose of the meeting were read from C. S. Thomas and F. J. Stanton.

Rabbi Friedman, in opening the meeting said, in part:

We have met in the cause of humanity, regardless of creed, to protest against the crime against the Hebrew race in Russia. For some decades, the Russian government had practiced a persecution, aimed to exterminate 5,000,000 people. It had deprived them of means of livelihood, had shut them up, had saddled upon them despicable and menial employment. These outrages had been systematically inflicted until they culminated, April 21, in the greatest wrongs since the middle ages. Women were outraged, tongues were torn out, hands were cut off and the greatest outrages conceivable were committed.

Senator Teller said:

I join heartily in the protest. I am convinced, much against my will, that it will require much more than our protest to prevail against these acts. If it is done effectively, it must be done by universal deprecation by the American people of these horrible occurrences. It is almost impossible that the greatest nation in the world will be influenced by a simple protest from a peaceful nation like ours, but if by meetings of this kind we can arouse a condemnatory sentiment here and throughout the world it will do some good. This matter will come before the Congress of the United States, and I have no doubt it will condemn these outrages. It is well for meetings like this to say to the government of the United States that such outrages must be stopped. No man can say what is the cause of this persecution—whether the indifference of the Russian government or the connivance of those in high authority. So far as my official influence will go, it shall be given against the occurrences of the last few weeks. I am glad that the ports of the world are open to the oppressed people, and that they can come to this country and have absolute safety and absolute justice. I am glad that here there is no racial prejudice. There is no people who have conducted themselves better in this country than have the Jews.

Senator Patterson, during his address, remarked:

I believe it only remains for the people of such countries as Great Britain and the United States to make their detestation of such deeds known throughout the world to make the possibility of such acts absolutely vanish.

I deny that Russia is a civilized nation. Russia is a nation of barbarians.

C. J. Hughes, Jr., declared that the expressed indignation of the American people over Jewish persecutions would awaken the fear of the Czar, and eventually would render safe the lives of the Jews under the despot's domain. He continued:

> Are we to be silent for fear a protest will estrange the nation? The mighty opinion of intelligent people is more powerful than a Krupp gun or any engine of war. There is no nation powerful enough to commit crimes against civilization. Can it be possible that a nation could continue to progress while it went on committing crimes? Russia is not strong enough to resist the cry of protest going up from all the civilized world. America became a world power when it declared her independence. It has power enough to-day to reach across the sea and strike terror to the Czar. I believe the government of the United States will send the message the people would have it send. The people are the government. They have a right to meet and protest. Should it be said that the voice of the whole American people was frailer than the voice of Gladstone?

Mr. Hughes introduced the following resolution and after its adoption the chairman of the meeting was instructed to telegraph its contents to the Secretary of State at Washington:

> *Resolved,* That we, the citizens of Denver, in mass meeting assembled, having heard with horror of the atrocities recently perpetrated in Russia against Jewish citizens of that country, urge upon the United States government to protest in the name of the indignant American people against the crimes which blackened Russia in the eyes of the world, and violate every principle of civil government and humanity, with the hope that these utterances and this action may stay this savagery and bring relief to this suffering and persecuted people.

Sermons on the Kishineff massacre were delivered by Rev. Charles Henry Andras, at the Episcopal Church, and Dean Peck, Central Christian Church, Denver, Colo., on May 24, 1903.

DES MOINES, IOWA

A meeting was held in the Mirror Theatre on East Locust Street, May 24, 1903. Mr. S. Engleman called the meeting to order, and presented Governor Cummins as the chairman of the meeting. The Governor said:

The infinite cruelty and horrible atrocity lately occurring in a certain part of Russia have become so familiar to the people of the United States in the last ten days that I would be cruel myself if I would attempt to harrow up your feelings in again describing or attempting to describe the indescribable suffering and wrong inflicted on a certain part of the population of that great country. I shall not attempt it. It has been said frequently in my hearing that meetings of this kind cannot be helpful. I do not agree with those who entertain such sentiments. It is indeed true that those who have suffered these great cruelties have gone beyond aid, into the hands of God, the Ruler of the Universe, and He in the fulness of time will inflict a judgment upon those people and that country guilty of these atrocities before which the judgment of men will fade into insignificance. I do not stand here to speak for them. I am here to-day to speak for civilization, for those that yet live, in the hope that liberty-loving America may do something to lift a little higher in every land the conception of right and wrong and prevent a repetition of these occurrences. We have a principle fixed in this country that permits no foreign influence to make itself felt in this land, and for which every American ought to be willing to lay down his life if need be. And we have another and a grander principle, crystallized in the Declaration of Independence, that is or ought to be the accepted doctrine of the peoples of the earth. You know what it is, that every human being, be he Jew or Gentile, white or black, rich or poor, is entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And whenever that immortal principle is invaded it is the business of the people of this great land to lift up their voices against such injustice. I do not know just who are responsible for this tragedy that has shocked the whole civilized world. It may be that the Czar and his counselors and his army as such are not wholly to blame. But I refuse to divide government in that way and to consider the government apart from the civilization for which it is responsible. I only know that here, where men and women have the right to their lives and their liberty and the pursuit of happiness, this civilization and this government have refused to protect these people in their rights. The civilization has failed of the high work assigned to it, and it is the function of the civilized peoples of the world to lift up their voices in indignation, so that, taught by the deep feeling of injustice of great masses of people everywhere, those responsible for these massacres will see to it that they are not repeated.

And as you resolve here in protest against these outrages, so ought you to resolve as a criterion for your conduct for all time, in this, our own country. The United States leads the procession of the world, and we ought to see to it that the civilization of which I speak does not fail here. I know there have been instances, even in the happy borders of our own country, in which men were not allowed their liberty because they belong to a race hated by some as inferiors. Let us raise our influence against this sort of thing and hold fast to the principles of which I speak.

The other speakers were Chief Justice Charles A. Bishop, Judge Smith McPherson, Rev. J. Everest Cathell, Dr. H. O. Breeden, Lafayette Young, and E. A. Nye.

The following resolutions were adopted:

WHEREAS, The civilized world stands appalled in the presence of the awful exhibition of barbarity which in the Russian province of Bessarabia has resulted in the wanton massacre of thousands of innocent people of the Jewish race; and

WHEREAS, The only indictment brought against the said Jewish people is that of fidelity to the faith of their fathers and to the religion which is to them even more precious than life itself, and industry which recognizes no obstacles as insurmountable, and ability which only needs opportunity to win renown in the highest fields of human endeavor; and

WHEREAS, The Christian nations of the earth cannot keep silence in the face of said massacre without shame; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the citizens of Des Moines, Iowa, in public mass meeting assembled, do hereby express our unqualified horror over the unspeakable tragedy which has taken place; that we tender the assurance of our profoundest sympathy to the friends and surviving relatives of the dead; that we regard it as the imperative duty of the Government of the United States to make the Russian Government a formal expression of the righteous indignation of the American people. Be it further

Resolved, That we stand ready to encourage, not only with voice and pen, but with financial aid, every effort which shall be made to carry relief to the suffering Jews of southern Russia. Be it further

Resolved, That as the Jews of America have ever been true to the duties of citizenship, loyal to her institutions and defenders of her flag, the Jews of southern Russia, longing for a haven of refuge from persecution and a land where freedom to toil is permitted and the fruits of labor guaranteed, are hereby assured that America offers them a home. Be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the State Department at Washington, and that copies be also furnished the various newspapers of Des Moines for publication.

A sermon on the Kishineff massacre was delivered by Rev. Dr. L. T. Gould, at the Methodist Church, Des Moines, Ia.

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

In Detroit, Mich., a special committee of the Common Council met with the Mayor and the Citizens' Committee, and at a special session of the Common

Council summoned for May 23, 1903, the following action was taken:

To the Honorable the Common Council:

Gentlemen: Your special committee, appointed to consider the communication of His Honor the Mayor, as to the action of the citizens' committee, regarding the persecution of the Jews in South Russia, beg leave to report that the committee took up with the citizens' committee and the Mayor the question of giving expression to our protest against persecution for religion's sake of any people, and knowing it to be un-American as well as unjust and unfair, we are united in our recommendation that a formal protest be sent to the Secretary of State of the United States, urging him to take such action as may seem proper to end these persecutions, or at least to intercede with the Russian Government in this regard.

Your committee therefore recommends the adoption of the following preamble and resolutions, and would suggest that they be forwarded to Senator Alger and Congressman Lucking, both of whom are to be in the city of Washington during the early days of the ensuing week. These representatives and fellow-citizens can avail themselves of the opportunity to present our protests to the Secretary of State in person. The resolutions are appended herewith.

Respectfully submitted,

Wm. Gutman,
David E. Heineman,
Max C. Koch,
Alois A. Deimel,
Wm. Nagel.

Accepted.

The following is the preamble and resolutions:

In pursuance of the resolutions of the citizens' meeting, submitted to this body by His Honor the Mayor, and having reference to the persecution of the Jews in South Russia, it is unanimously

Resolved, By the Common Council of the city of Detroit, That the massacres of the Jews in South Russia fill the civilized world with a sense of horror and detestation, and the sufferings of that people under the fearful cruelties inflicted upon them, because of their religious faith, arouse the deepest sympathy and pity of the American people.

Resolved, That we denounce these atrocities and the perpetrators and abettors thereof, as wholly outside the pale of Christian civilization.

Resolved, That on behalf of the united people of Detroit we solemnly protest against the persecution of these people, and appeal to the Government of Russia to suppress such outrages and to visit upon the perpetrators the punishment they so richly deserve.

Resolved, That we urge upon the State Department at Washington that the protest of the American people be laid before the Government of Russia, to the end that that Government may be fully advised of the attitude of the American people in this most serious matter.

Resolved, That these resolutions be certified by the City Clerk with the city seal, and signed by the Mayor, the special committee of this body and the special citizens' committee, and forwarded to Senator Alger and Congressman Lucking, with the respectful request that they present the resolutions in person to the Secretary of State of the United States.

Unanimously adopted.

ELMIRA, NEW YORK

A meeting was held in the Lyceum Theatre, in Elmira, N. Y., on May 24, 1903. The committee of arrangements consisted of Mayor Daniel Sheehan, chairman; John Brand, treasurer; Samuel J. Friendly, Benjamin F. Levy, Henry L. Rosenbaum, Theodore Lande, Dr. Jonas Jacobs, John Levy, Rev. Dr. Jacob L. Marcus, Seth Winner, Honorable Roswell R. Moss, and Thomas J. Leyden.

The speakers who addressed the meeting were Mayor Sheehan, Colonel David C. Robinson, Rev. Samuel E. Eastman, pastor of the Park Church, and Rabbi Jacob L. Marcus. A letter was read from Congressman H. M. Goldfogle.

Mayor Sheehan said:

We are assembled here this evening for the purpose of entering strong and solemn protest against the atrocities perpetrated upon the defenseless and law-abiding Jews of Kishineff, Russia, and to express our deep sympathy for the unfortunate victims. And on behalf of the committee in charge of this meeting I express deep gratitude to each person for coming here to-night.

The Mayor introduced Honorable David Robinson as chairman of the meeting.

Mr. Robinson said:

For the honor of presiding over the deliberations of so magnificent an audience as this I give you hearty thanks; also for the higher honor of participating in the good work which you have met here to perform, to enter the voice of protest of a civilized community against atrocities almost unheard of in modern times, and to send some substantial reminder of our sympathy to those who have been so outraged, pillaged, bereft and left desolate.

The speaker then compared the scenes in Russia at Easter time with those met with in this country, and spoke of the spirit which characterized the people of this land of freedom as compared with that found under the despotism of the Czar, and expressed the hope that the protest of this community might be heard across the sea.

After the Rev. Samuel E. Eastman's address, the Honorable Roswell R. Moss presented the following resolutions, which were adopted:

By the people of Elmira, New York, in mass meeting assembled, May 24, 1903:

Resolved, That we have heard with sorrow and horror the reports of the recent atrocities perpetrated upon Jews in Russian Bessarabia, the bare recital of which causes mankind to shudder, and which reflect the barbarism of past ages, disgrace humanity and impede the progress of civilization; that our sorrow is intensified when we recall that the country in which these persecutions have occurred is one with whose people and government our relations have been of traditional and historical friendship, marked by many expressions of regard for our welfare, in times of our distress, which call for our lasting gratitude; one whose government clothed itself with glory by the emancipation of its serfs; by its defense of helpless Christians from Turkish oppression; by joining in concert with other great powers in the suppression of similar outbursts of brutish cruelty in China and restoration of tranquillity to that vexed nation; which initiated the establishment of the International Tribunal at The Hague for the arbitration of disputes between nations; and which has added new luster to its renown by the very recent promulgation of the imperial ukase, by which, barely a month before the fiendish outburst of religious intolerance at Kishineff, there was inserted into the basic law of all the Russians, for the future, principles of tolerance, granting to all the subjects of that mighty empire and to all foreign persuasions within its borders, freedom of creed and worship.

That its friendship for the United States has been no less marked by the courtesy with which the Russian Government has heretofore received diplomatic representations of our interest in their internal affairs, as when this Government found occasion to express in a friendly spirit, but with much earnestness, to the Government of the Czar, its serious concern because of the harsh measures enforced against the Hebrews in Russia during the Presidency of Benjamin Harrison, who, in his message to Congress in 1891, said that the suggestion of humanity furnished ample ground for the remonstrance which his administration has presented to Russia, which our historic friendship for that government could not fail to give assurance that the representations were those of a sincere well-wisher; and as when President Arthur, as he reported to Congress in his message of 1882, prompted by our long-established friendship with Russia, proffered the earnest counsels of this Government that measures be adopted for suppressing the proscription which the Hebrew race in that country had lately suffered, with the additional statement that there was reason to believe that the time was not far distant when Russia would be able to secure toleration to all faiths within her borders.

That representation of our interest in the internal affairs of other nations, when they affect subjects of our common humanity, is within diplomatic precedent, as when in 1840 the American Secretary of State instructed the Minister to Turkey to represent to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, that the President had learned with profound feelings of surprise and pain, of the atrocious cruelties which had been practiced upon the Jews of Damascus and Rhodes, and that he was to do everything in his power consistent with his diplomatic character to mitigate the horrors, and that the President was of opinion that from no one could such generous endeavors proceed with such propriety and effect as from the representative of a friendly power whose institutions, political and civil, place upon the same footing the worshipers of God, of every faith and form, acknowledging no distinction between the Mohammedan, the Jew and the Christian; and as when in 1872, Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, in connection with the reported expulsion of Jews from Russian Bessarabia, instructed our Consul-General to that country to represent to the Principality of Roumania the intense feeling of Israelites in this country by recent intelligence of grievous persecutions of their co-religionists there, which feeling had naturally been augmented by the contrast presented by the position of members of that persuasion here, who are equals with all others before the law, which sternly forbids oppression on account of religion, persecution for which cause anywhere it may be said the people of this country universally abhor, whose Government sympathizes with such popular instinct and which, while it had no disposition or intention to give offense by interfering in the internal affairs of Roumania, it deemed it due to humanity to remonstrate against any license or impunity which might have attended the outrages in that country, which instructions contained directly to do all that could be done discreetly, with reasonable prospect of success, toward preventing a recurrence or continuance of the persecutions adverted to.

That in this enlightened age, at least every civilized people can but be interested in offenses against mankind wherever occurring, and whatever one people is interested in, it may respectfully express that interest to any other nation, within the precedents of courteous diplomatic intercourse.

That the recently promulgated ukase abolishing discrimination for race or creed is both a fulfilment of President Harrison's expressed hope and an augury for the future, under which no longer, as in the past, can an American citizen be refused entrance, sojourn or residence in Russia, for purpose of business or pleasure, because he is a Jew, upon the ground that he is deprived of no treaty right if he be subjected to the same proscriptions enforced against Russian subjects of the same race, a doctrine which Secretary of State Blaine protested against as violative of the spirit of our treaty rights with Russia, and as to which Acting Secretary of State Hill has recently said that it has always met with our dissent, for, in the new era of abolishment among Russians of religious discrimination, it becomes the unquestionable treaty right of every American to equal freedom from intolerable proscriptions.

And that for all the sufferers from those outrages we have great sympathy, and for the relief of the distresses of the survivors we make, according to our means, offerings of material help.

Resolved, That we request with all the earnestness of a demand, of our Government at Washington, that in the light of the cited diplomatic precedents, our strong feelings be expressed to Russia, and its Government urged to bring the Jew-hating perpetrators of the Kishineff outrages to no less condign and exemplary punishment than it helped the Governments of Germany, Italy, France, England, and the United States to require the Government of China to mete out to the Boxer insurgents of that country for their outrages upon native Chinese Christians.

That it be represented to Russia that such punishment would be an assurance to the nations of the world of the sincere purpose of that Government to rescue its country from the possibility of a recurrence of such a world-startling horror as the Kishineff massacre.

And that such steps be taken by the State Department as will insure for American citizens of the Jewish faith in Russia the same rights as are there enjoyed by all other Americans.

Resolved, further, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the Honorable John Hay, Secretary of State; Honorable Thomas C. Platt and Honorable Chauncey M. Depew, Senators from this State, and Honorable Charles W. Gillet, Representative in Congress from this district, and to the almoners of the relief fund to whom our contribution is sent.

FORT SMITH, ARKANSAS

A meeting was held May 21, 1903, in the Circuit Court, at Fort Smith, Arkansas. Mayor Kuper presided over the meeting, and addresses were delivered by Rabbi Emanuel Kahn, who refuted Count Cassini's statements to the Associated Press, Colonel James Brizzolara, I. Isaacson, and A. Mayer.

Mayor Kuper appointed as the committee on resolutions A. Mayer, P. C. Fisher, Mr. Mehlburger, Dr. Hynes, and I. Apple, who submitted the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, There are being perpetrated in the southern provinces of Russia the most inhuman persecutions and the most barbarous massacres of innocent and inoffending people that the annals of crime have recorded for many years; and

WHEREAS, Such persecutions and massacres are inflicted upon a class of people who are poor and downtrodden already, and made so by those whose duty it is to uplift and protect them; and

WHEREAS, Our sense of justice and right as lovers of liberty and freedom of conscience, and as American citizens, is shocked thereby beyond the power of words to express; therefore be it

Resolved, That we as American citizens and lovers of justice and right extend to the Jews of Southern Russia our sincerest sympathies in this their present hour of misery, and we pray to the God of Israel to have mercy upon them in their affliction, and to soften the hearts of their oppressors and persecutors; that we take this occasion to express our deep abhorrence at the massacres that have carried to their graves gray hairs and innocent childhood; that in the language of the great American Roman Catholic Cardinal, James Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, " Our sense of justice revolts at the thought of persecution for religion's sake; but when persecution is attended with murder and pillage, our brain and our heart sicken; and our righteous indignation is aroused at the enormity of such a crime."

Resolved, further, That we will in our limited way do whatever lies within our power to aid these poor, downtrodden and persecuted people; and that the Honorable the Secretary of State of the United States be requested to bring to bear such influences as lie within his power on the Czar Nicholas, who is reputed a man of peace and justice, as may tend to bring about a cessation of the persecution, inhumanities and massacres that are now being inflicted and perpetrated upon the Jews in his empire; that the Congress of the United States be petitioned to protest by formal resolution against the inhuman treatment to which the Jews of Southern Russia are now being subjected by those who under God and the law should be their protectors; and

Resolved, further, That copies of these resolutions be furnished the press for publication, and that additional copies be sent to each member of the Arkansas delegation in Congress, and especially to our own, John Sebastian Little, and the Honorable John Hay, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

FORT WORTH, TEXAS

A meeting was held in the City Hall, presided over by J. W. Spencer. Addresses were delivered by Mayor Powell, Congressman O. W. Gillespie, Captain B. B. Paddock, and Judge R. R. Webb. Governor Lanham wrote expressing his sympathy with the purpose of the meeting.

A sermon on the Kishineff massacre was delivered by Rev. S. H. Werlein, of the First Methodist Church.

FRANKFORT, KENTUCKY

A sermon on the Kishineff massacre was delivered by Rev. George Darsie, of the Christian Church.

GALESBURG, ILLINOIS

Mayor George Shumway issued an appeal for a public meeting.

HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

A mass meeting of five hundred persons was held Sunday afternoon, May 17, 1903, at the Hartford Opera House. Addresses were made by Mayor Sullivan, Rabbi M. Elkin, of Congregation Beth Israel, Professor J. J. McCook of Trinity College, the Rev. Joseph Waite of Unity Church, Abraham Tulin, and Abraham Litman. The meeting was called to order by W. I. Rufkess, chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, who introduced Joseph Schwab as chairman of the meeting.

The first speaker was the Rev. Joseph Waite, who said, in part:

> There is nothing an American should be more proud of than that his country is a refuge for the oppressed. I know how to sympathize with a race which has furnished the civilized world with a religion and has been repaid by ages of persecution. The idiosyncrasies of the Jewish race do not explain this persecution. I hope that the scenes at Kishineff will never be repeated, and that Russia, sluggish and dull-

eared, will awaken to the voice of public opinion and learn that Jew-baiting is not calculated to gain friends for the race or nation.

Professor McCook said, in part:

The only remedy I know of is to show Russia that such things cannot be done in a corner, and that people cry out in protest at acts of violence, wherever they are committed.

Mayor Sullivan believed the object of the meeting appealed to every civilized person and that it was right that public meetings should voice public sentiment. He continued: "The massacre, in a measure, is due to the centralization of power in a single individual, for when law is virtually centered in one man the majority of men are likely to offend. I hope to see the day when Russia will be sensitive to public opinion, and all the subjects of the Czar will enjoy religious freedom. Meetings such as these will show Russia that the world is small and the wrongs of one people or the residents of one city are known throughout Christendom."

The Rev. Mr. Elkin said, in part:

A mass meeting is to be held here to-day, and I was invited to address it in connection with some other speakers. The subject on which we are to speak is of the deepest interest to Jews and to Christians, and to all who have a feeling of sympathy in their hearts for the sufferings of others. I therefore expected that the audience would be of a mixed multitude of people of different denominations and creeds; nevertheless all united in the principles of true humanity. My expectation seems fully realized in the people before me; I see men and women, irrespective of creed or belief, stirred up in their feelings of humanity by an outrage committed against the common principles of justice and morality! A cry of woe and suffering has reached us from Russia that curdles the blood in the human heart—men, women and children have been subjected to most inhuman tortures and put to death, not because they had committed any crime against the government of the land, or against their fellow-creatures, but because they dare to believe in the same God in whom for thousands of years their fathers believed; the God whom we all recognize as the Father of all.

A meeting was held under the auspices of the Sisters of Zion, Sunday evening, May 17, 1903, at the Hebrew Institute, Hartford, Conn. The exercises consisted of a stereopticon lecture by Henry M. Mayer, vice-principal of the Brown school, and a musical number by Cantor Koppleman of the Congregation Adas Israel. Addresses were delivered by Chairman David Kempner, Abraham Tulin, Henry M. Mayer, and Nathan Rosenthal.

HOBOKEN, N. J.

The Young Men's Hebrew Association of Hudson County held a reception for the benefit of the Kishineff sufferers. The speakers were Rabbi H. S. Stollnitz. N. M. Goldram, Jacob Caspar, and B. Werner.

JERSEY CITY, N. J.

The Board of Aldermen passed resolutions condemning Russia, on May 19, 1903, as follows:

WHEREAS, The civilized world has been shocked by the reported atrocities committed on an inoffensive and helpless people whose only offense consisted in worshiping God according to the dictates of their conscience; and

WHEREAS, A large number of these people were mercilessly butchered under the apparent cognizance of the Russian Governor:

Resolved, That the members of this Board elected by the people, express their horror of such deeds at the beginning of this the twentieth century and condemn the Russian Government for permitting such outrages.

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to our representatives in Congress, and that they be requested to urge the President of the United States to take such means as he may deem best to show this country's protest against such barbarous work.

The Democratic Club of Jersey City passed resolutions of sympathy and protest.

A meeting was held at the synagogue of the Tifereth Israel Congregation, May 24, 1903. A letter from the Rev. John L. Scudder was read expressing sympathy with the purpose of the meeting.

A mass meeting was held May 29, 1903, at the Bijou Theatre, Jersey City, N. J. Joseph E. Bernstein, the chairman, and the following gentlemen occupied seats on the stage:

Aaron Wolf, James F. O'Mealia, I. M. Shackter, Myron C. Ernst, Dr. B. S. Pollack, Peter F. James, Congressmen Allan L. McDermott and Allan Benny, Street and Water Commissioner Anthony Hauck, Maurice Marks, I. Hayman, Police Judge Edward Hoos, ex-Sheriff Ruempler, H. Weisberg, Samuel Heyman, John Dennin, Undersheriff John J. Heavey, Andrew J. Corcoran and Harry Davis.

The speakers were Congressman Allan L. McDermott, Dr. B. S. Pollack, Counselor Peter James, Joseph E. Bernstein, Congressman Allan Benny, Myron Ernst, Street and Water Commissioner Anthony Hauck, Maurice Marks, ex-Mayor Hoos and Samuel Heyman.

Honorable Allan L. McDermott said, in part:

I have no sympathy with that kind of religion which devotes six days of the week to the persecution of one Jew and the seventh day to the worship of another. I fail to sympathize with that religion that persecutes the Jews and the doctrine that no man can enter heaven except through the shedding of the sacrificial blood of the son of a Jewish mother.

Street and Water Commissioner Anthony Hauck offered the following resolutions, which were drawn up by Counselor Peter James:

WHEREAS, The citizens of Jersey City have learned with intense sorrow and indignation the news of the recent outbreak against the Jews of Kishineff, Russia, and the shocking atrocities committed by the ignorant, brutal and misguided populace, resulting in the massacre of many men, women and children, and the wounding and maltreatment of hundreds of victims; therefore be it

Resolved, That as citizens of a republic, friend of Russia, we earnestly urge the claim of the Jews resident in that empire to just and impartial treatment, and to protection against such outbreaks as the Kishineff massacre. We protest against the spirit of medieval persecution which has been revived in parts of Russia. In this century the recognition of the equality of all men before the law, whatever their race or creed, is a principle which in practice assures their devotion to the land of their birth or adoption. This is eminently true of the Jewish immigrants from Russia who have settled in the United States in large numbers, and who, as a body, have become industrious, faithful and law-abiding citizens; and be it further

Resolved, That we sympathize with our fellow-citizens of the Hebrew faith in their grief and anxiety because of the affliction of their co-religionists in Russia, and in their energetic efforts for the relief of the Jewish people of Kishineff; and be it further

Resolved, That the people of the United States should exercise such influence with the Government of Russia as the ancient and unbroken friendship between the two nations may justify, to stay the spirit of persecution, to redress the injuries inflicted upon the Jews of Kishineff and to prevent the recurrence of outbreaks such as have amazed the civilized world.

The resolutions were carried by acclamation.

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

Sermons on the Kishineff massacre were delivered on June 22, 1903, by the Rev. William Carter, of the First Presbyterian Church, and by the Rev. James Fifield, of the First Congregational Church.

LA CROSSE, WISCONSIN

At a meeting held at the synagogue on May 24, 1903, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting that a committee of three be appointed to call upon the Mayor and prevail upon him to call a mass meeting of all citizens to formulate and adopt resolutions to be sent to the Secretary of State at Washington, asking the Government to use its best efforts and influence upon the Russian Government to make amends for the lives taken and property destroyed at the recent riots at Kishineff, and to issue such orders to subjects as to forever stay similar massacres.

Thereupon a mass meeting was held at Association Hall, on May 29, 1903, presided over by Mayor I. William Torrance, and attended by about one hundred persons. The speakers were J. J. Hirshheimer, Rev. Vance, Father Murphy, Rev. Faville, George M. H. M'Millan, Dr. A. W. Anderson, and B. L. Strouse.

The committee on resolutions reported and offered the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, We, the citizens of La Crosse in mass meeting assembled, have heard with horror of the inhuman cruelties practiced upon the Jewish people of Russia, and

WHEREAS, This is revolting to our sense of justice among men, a reflection upon our common Christianity and a blight upon our civilization.

Be it Resolved, That we hereby protest against these atrocities and that we request the government at Washington to use the utmost of its influence to bring such evils to an end.

GEORGE H. M'MILLAN,
REV. FAVILLE,
REV. VANCE.

A motion was then made by Dr. W. A. Anderson that the Mayor be instructed to send the resolutions to Secretary of State Hay at Washington.

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

A meeting was held and addresses were delivered by L. N. Dembitz, Louis Shapinsky, Benjamin F. Washer, Alfred Selligman, Dr. Leon L. Solomon, and Rabbis Enelow, Mueller, Salinger, and Zarchy.

At a meeting of the negro members of the Louisville bar, held June 2, 1903, the following resolutions were adopted:

WHEREAS, Having known oppression ourselves, we sympathize with the oppressed in all lands of every nationality. Our sympathy and indignation have been deeply moved by the indignities and barbarities practiced upon the Jews in Russia. This people, known the world over for their thrift, energy and moral and peaceful lives, are entitled to and should receive the friendly countenance and generous aid of the civilized and Christian world, thus rebuking the spirit and the people who murder men, women and children indiscriminately and outrage helpless women because of their race. Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the negro members of the Louisville bar, often occupied in defending the unfortunates of our own race—acquainted with sorrow, and knowing the poignancy of the oppressor's wrongs, do most solemnly enter our protest against the aforesaid outrages and tender our sympathy and moral support to any movement looking to the amelioration of the hapless condition of our Hebrew brethren, and trust that the representatives of this enlightened Government may inaugurate steps to offer an asylum to these people in such a dignified manner as to command the attention of the civilized world.

A. S. White,
Isaac E. Black,
J. W. Head,
J. Allen Ross,
J. H. Henderson,
N. R. Harper.

MACON, GEORGIA

On May 17, 1903, a meeting was held at the synagogue of Congregation Beth Israel, which was addressed by Rabbi Marx, of Atlanta, Ga. At the close of his address, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That in the name of liberty and humanity, we, citizens of Macon, of the Jewish faith, in meeting assembled, call the attention of all right-minded people, regardless of creed, to this our solemn protest against the barbarous and fiendish massacre of the Jews in Kishineff, Russia, a massacre not surpassed in cruelty by the most atrocious crimes of the Dark Ages.

We believe that in the interests of a higher humanity the United States should take such diplomatic action as is consistent with the principles for which this Government stands, to make known to the Russian Government that such outrages are a disgrace to the civilization of this country and an insult to the religion in whose name they are perpetrated.

We respectfully petition our Senators and Congressmen to use every means within their power to make such representations to the Russian Government, through the proper channel, as shall tend to secure an amelioration of such conditions as now exist in the Jewish settlements of Russia.

On May 20 a meeting of citizens was held at the Chamber of Commerce, Rabbi I. E. Marcusson in the chair. The following resolutions were adopted as the sense of the meeting:

WHEREAS, The story of the bloody massacres in Kishineff has come to the attention of the American people; be it

Resolved, That the citizens of Macon, without reference to caste or creed, race or country, in mass meeting assembled, do hereby express their condemnation of the atrocities that shock the very soul of man, and cry out in thunder tones to the heart of civilization, wherever freedom has a temple or humanity a votary. Be it further

Resolved, That we call upon the American people to unite in a request to the American Government to give the aid of its great moral support to the adoption of such agencies as will prevent a repetition of these bloody butcheries, which do such violence to our twentieth century civilization and our boasted brotherhood of man.

Resolved, further, That the citizens of Macon hereby pledge themselves to give their financial as well as moral support to any movement that may be inaugurated for the relief of these sufferers, and designed to offer them protection against the recurrence of their persecution.

E. L. MARTIN,
EUGENE ANDERSON,
G. BERND, JR.,
Committee.

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

A meeting was held, on May 3, 1903, at the synagogue of the Congregation Ansche Sphard. The speakers were Rabbi S. J. Scheinfeld, Rev. B. Berco, and J. Gartenstein.

A mass meeting was held, on May 10, 1903, at the synagogue of Congregation Beth Israel, presided over by H. Kramer. The speakers who addressed the meeting were Rabbis Julius H. Meyer, Victor Caro, S. J. Scheinfeld, and J. Lieberman, and Max Landauer, Leopold Hammel, and A. W. Rich.

In concluding his remarks Mr. Rich offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Through Associated Press dispatches, as well as through private sources, information has been received during the past ten days of most horrible atrocities committed by a brutal mob of religious fanatics at Kishineff, Russia, a city of about 120,000 inhabitants, where defenseless men and women and innocent children were murdered by the score, and hundreds more were maimed, many of whom will die from their injuries, while many that may recover will be crippled for life. The world shudders at the thought that, in this age of enlightenment, such heartless, inhuman violence would be possible, even in darkest Russia.

A shadow of doubt has been thrown upon the press reports of the bloody deeds by a recent dispatch from St. Petersburg, but, while the prayers of thousands are offered to-day that the contradiction may be based on truth, the hands of Russia have too often been stained with blood, and the cunning of her officers is too well established not to leave room for suspicion that the denial was created by the censors of the press to check public denouncement; be it therefore

Resolved, That this mass meeting, representing American citizens, independent of creed or nationality, hereby desires to express heartfelt sympathy for the victims of this horrible tragedy.

Resolved, That we contemplate with abhorrence the condition of a nation and its government where such inhuman atrocities can be enacted without prompt suppression and the punishment of the leaders.

Resolved, That the influence and power of all civilized nations be invoked to take some action tending to prevent the recurrence of such atrocious scenes, which are a disgrace to civilization.

Sermons on the Kishineff atrocities were preached by Rev. Thomas Edward Barr, of the People's Pulpit, and Rev. James C. Hodgins, of the First Unitarian Church, on May 24, 1903.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

A benefit concert was given at Minneapolis, Minn., on May 31, 1903, by the Newsboys' Band, at the Lyceum Theatre. The program was opened by Mayor Haynes with a brief address.

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

A meeting was held on May 11, 1903, in the synagogue of the Anshe Russia Congregation, at the call of a committee composed of Max Stern, Charles Loebel, Meyer Pennis, and Samuel Acher. There were about fifteen hundred persons present, and the meeting was presided over by Meyer S. Hood. Addresses were delivered by Rev. Hyman Brodsky, Assistant Prosecutor Louis Hood, and Rev. Dr. A. Radin. Letters regretting their inability to be present were received from Mayor Doremus, Samuel Kalisch, Prosecutor Chandler W. Riker, and Robert Parrod.

The Ministerial Association of Newark appointed a committee of three to wait on Mayor Doremus and urge him to call a public meeting of protest.

Rev. Robert Scott Inglis, of Third Presbyterian Church, Newark, delivered a sermon on Kishineff.

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

A mass meeting was held at the Crescent Theater on June 13, 1903. Mayor Paul Capdevielle presided over the meeting, and letters of sympathy were received from Governor Heard, Archbishop Chapelle, Bishop Sessums of the Episcopal diocese, and Rev. W. H. La Prade, Presiding Elder of the New Orleans District of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Addresses were delivered by Rev. Dr. Beverley E. Warner, of Trinity Episcopal Church, Edgar H. Farrar, Esq., and Dr. E. A. Alderman, President of Tulane University.

Page M. Baker, editor of The Times-Democrat, was chairman of the committee of arrangements.

The following vice-presidents had accepted invitations to occupy seats upon the stage:

Page M. Baker, Albert Baldwin, Rev. A. G. Bakewell, Rev. J. C. Barr, Judge R. T. Beauregard, F. E. Bishop, Judge N. C. Blanchard, Captain J. E. Bloom, Albert Bloom, Judge A. Breaux, O. F. Briede, A. Brittin, E. F. Buhler, W. H. Byrnes, A. Capdevielle, W. C. Chevis, Judge F. D. Chretien, Louis Cucullu, Rev. Gilbert Dobbs, Hon. R. C. Davey, Major T. E. Davis, J. C. Denis, Hon. Chas. Dickson, Rev. W. W. Drake, Judge L. Dufour, Judge T. C. W. Ellis, Robert Ewing, Rev. E. J. Fallon, H. L. Frantz, Rev. H. W. Foote, S. L. Gilmore, R. J. Goebel, Charles Janvier, J. Watts Kearny, Judge F. D. King, Dr. Q. Kohnke, J. A. Lautenschlaeger, Rev. H. Wilkinson, Henry McCall, Honorable S. D. McEnery, James McRacken, Rev. R. Q. Mallard, Rev. J. P. Malone, Louis Mathis, Wm. Mehle, Honorable Adolph Meyer, R. G. Memory, E. Miltenberger, Judge F. A. Monroe, Rev. J. W. Moore, Judge I. D. Moore, A. T. Moss, T. J. Moulin, Rev. J. H. Nall, Judge F. T. Nicholls, A. P. Noll, G. W. Nott, Rev. C. L. Nourse, Charles

O'Connor, Judge Chas. Parlange, Ashton Phelps, Judge O. O. Provosty, T. G. Rapier, Dr. M. V. Richard, W. B. Rogers, Thos. Sefton, Dr. E. Souchon, B. C. Shields, E. S. Stoddard, Judge G. H. Theard, E. Toby, G. W. Young, Norman Walker, R. M. Walmsley, Jas. S. Zacharie, Rev. E. Hunter, Rev. E. W. Lott.

Mayor Paul Capdevielle called the meeting to order. He said, in part:

The people of this city never fail to come forward on the side of right and justice, and upon this occasion they seek the opportunity to express their sympathy with the abused and stricken Jews of Russia, and to endeavor to find some way in which to put a stop to this barbarity.

Secretary Mayo read a letter from Archbishop Chapelle, as follows:

New Orleans, June 11, 1903.

Mr. Page M. Baker, Editor The Times-Democrat.

My Dear Mr. Baker: Please accept my sincere thanks for your kind invitation to the mass meeting that will be held to lament over and protest against the horrible massacre of the Jews at Kishineff. Being almost on the eve of my departure for Cuba, many pressing engagements will not permit me, much to my regret, to express viva voce my sorrow and indignation at these outrages. I have already done so by way of the press a few days ago.

I trust that the horror manifested by the civilized world may induce the noble-hearted Czar to insist upon his subordinates guilty of these barbarities being punished and put into execution the great promises he lately made with much solemnity, to secure to all in his vast dominions the blessings of religious, racial and political liberty. I rejoice that the children of Israel, that strong race which God has made immortal as the witness of His revelation to men, a race which is now a world power as it never was before, perhaps, should protest against persecution and injustice perpetrated against its members. Christians should unite and denounce more strongly than they have done heretofore massacres of missionaries, Chinese, Christians, Armenians, and last but not least, the abominable persecution of defenseless, holy, good women in France, and the destruction of the liberty of association and of education which is being wrought in that country by a short-sighted and fanatical government.

Sincerely yours,

P. L. CHAPELLE,
Archbishop New Orleans.

The next letter was from Bishop Sessums:

Let me acknowledge your note and thank you for the invitation to make one of the addresses at the proposed mass meeting in connection with the recent massacre at Kishineff. Surely the terrible savagery and cruelties which have been there enacted, if the accounts be correct, must fill the civilized and Christian world with horror, and the profoundest sympathy must be universally felt for the sufferers and the utmost condemnation must be universally passed upon their oppressors. I regret that I shall be unable to attend the proposed meeting, as I shall be leaving the city on the date named in order to meet important appointments for the following day outside of New Orleans.

That such atrocities could be committed in a country whose government is included amidst the civilized powers of the earth is staggering and bewildering. That in this age in any one of the so-called Christian countries any part of the population should be so ignorant and superstitious and savage as to be guilty of persecution of any sort and especially of religious persecution, and for them to think that they deserve the name of Christians when they are engaged in such persecution, is frightful to contemplate. While it is not thinkable that the central Russian Government directly incited or encouraged these horrors; still, if it has unjust laws, it inevitably has a responsibility for the degree of education in injustice which its population receives from such laws. It also has a responsibility to bring to justice the perpetrators of these cruelties; to make restitution to those who have suffered and to the families of the victims; and to compel its civil and religious agents to counteract and eradicate fanatical religious prejudices and the dreadful and false accusation against the Hebrew population.

Again thanking you for your invitation and regretting that I cannot attend the meeting, I am

Sincerely yours,
DAVID SESSUMS.

Letter from Dr. La Prade:

NEW ORLEANS, June 11, 1903.

PAGE M. BAKER, City.

Dear Mr. Baker: On my return from an absence of several days from the city, I found your kind favor of the 6th instant on my desk, in which you do me the honor to invite me to be one of the speakers on the evening of Saturday, the 13th instant, "to protest against the recent massacre of Jews at Kishineff, Russia."

I regret exceedingly that important business connected with my ecclesiastic office will make it necessary for me to be out of the city at the hour of the proposed mass meeting. I assure you that my convictions and sympathies prompt me to accept your invitation. The unchristian, wholly barbarous action of Russia should meet with world-wide protest, and New Orleans should certainly make her voice heard in the general utterance.

As my name has appeared as one of the invited speakers of the occasion I would be glad if you will explain my necessary and reluctant absence.

Very sincerely yours,
WM. H. LA PRADE.

Rev. Dr. Beverley E. Warner said, in part:

Russia desires to be regarded as civilized, but she knows that the truly civilized nations look upon her with contempt. Two things she can do to undo the evil she has done to her standing in the congress of the nations.

First: She can force the ecclesiastics of the empire to authoritatively deny the truth of the awful and shameless story of the ritual of blood which has been cast against the Jews since pagan days. No man believes that story to-day, no man in all the civilized world believes it was ever true of the Jews. It is an old lie, used once against the Christians themselves. Whenever the story comes of massacre in Russia, or the smaller kindred states where they kill king and queen as we kill flies, where there is no regard for life, and where the brutality and the cruelty of the people find expression in deeds that bring the blush of shame and horror to all the world—then we may know that it is due to this old falsehood, which dates back to the first feast of the Passover.

Second: The Russians can make Russians of the Jews, make them citizens of the land. Here in New Orleans the Jews are citizens, good citizens, and do their part of the work and bear their share of the burdens, thus earning the right to enjoy the blessings and partake of the pleasures. When Russia repeals the 300 pages of restrictive law which she has enacted to hedge about the Jews, then she may expect the Jews to become loyal and loving citizens. Then, and only then, can she expect the mass of ignorant peasants, egged on to hate the Jews by the anti-Semite press, and taught by the ecclesiastics to believe the Jew but a clod, to refrain from breaking the clod when it suits his convenience.

Now comes the question: By what right do we interfere? I know not what has impelled the others who have spoken against this disgrace to the age; but we speak and interfere in behalf of the right of eminent domain; for that ideal of brotherhood of man for which we stand; for the right of the strong to protect the weak. For this we interfere and raise our voices in protest.

Were ten thousand Germans dead in a foreign land, the young "War Lord" would have more than a note in protest. Were ten thousand Englishmen beaten and branded in another land, John Bull would send more than a word of regret. Were ten thousand Americans the victims of such an outrage, Brother Jonathan would raise his hand, and it would be the sign for all our people to rally, join together and wipe out the doers of the crime.

The Jew has no nation. He assembles his wise men in no great capital. He marches his armies under no flag. Therefore we will lift for him the standard of the Stars and Stripes. We lift for him our voices—and they must be heard. Because the Jew is without these things, we raise, not the arm of right, but the voice of might. We send it across the ocean and the land, postmarked, Washington, D. C.

That flag we raise for him, forgetting not as we raise it, the symbolism of the colors and the stars. The red marks the nation united forever after the double baptism of blood; the white, the peaceful unity bound for a common and noble destiny; the blue—of the union, enfolding the forty-eight stars—signals our destiny, our purpose, ever at the call of the oppressed. The whole combined is the standard of the United States of America—the world's best hope for the future.

The Honorable Edgar H. Farrar said, in part:

The question was asked me yesterday what practical good can be accomplished for the Russian Jews by mass meetings in the United States and the passage of resolutions condemning their wholesale robbery and murder in their own country. Can we expect, by these means, to restrain the outbreaks of a brutal, ignorant and superstitious peasantry, goaded on by two of the most violent passions that have lodgment in the human breast—race prejudice and religious bigotry? I find an affirmative answer in these facts:

1. That the Russian Government attempted to conceal from the outside world the horrors of Kishineff.

2. That after concealment could no longer be practiced, the Governor of the province was removed in disgrace, and steps taken to arrest some of the rioters.

3. That in yesterday morning's dispatches from Russia the Government declared that it needs no assistance from America to provide for the helpless Jews, and that it resents foreign suggestion.

These facts show sensitiveness. They show respect for the opinion of the civilized world.

* * * * * * * * *

Therefore, my fellow citizens, who are assembled here without reference to race or creed, Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic, freemen all, who own no master except God and Father, whom we all worship, speak out the promptings of your hearts and swell with your voices the cry of outraged humanity that is ringing around the earth in protest against a so-called Christian government that persecutes and denies protection to its own children.

Dr. Edwin A. Alderman, of Tulane University, in part, spoke as follows:

Thomas Jefferson declared that "he had sworn eternal hatred against every form of tyranny against the mind and soul of man," and he nobly lived up to that oath. That impulse is woven into my soul, too, and I am here to-night to protest against the exercise of these passions, and I would protest, whether they occurred in Russia or in France, or America, or whether in my own home, or whether ten thousand leagues across the sea, or whether they were directed against the brown man, the yellow man, the black man, Jew, or Gentile.

I have nothing to say against the Czar or the Russian Ministry—they are doubtless kind and gentle people in their families and to their friends. The central fact is this: Russia has two mighty passions—conscious and unconscious—the Russification of its 180,000,000 of people, and the constant extension of its territory, and whatever stands in the way of those two things must take the consequences. In order to develop the moujik, the Russian feels it necessary to oppress the Jew. To me it is stupid policy. The Jew has ten times the gifts of the moujik, and with freedom and opportunity he would become a great Russian citizen, as he has become a great American citizen. And the public opinion of the world ought to say to the Russian, certainly the public opinion of America ought to say, that under its policy there is no better class of American citizenship than the loyal, patriotic, productive, public-spirited American Jew. Practically the Russian will not do this. It is asking him to change his entire governmental policy. It is asking him to change the structure of his mind. It is asking him to be an American and not a Russian. He wants to see the Russian peasant become an efficient man. The Jew outwits and dwarfs him. Therefore he oppresses the Jew and debases the peasant by giving him the opportunity to become a tyrant. If he would consent to *educate the peasant and give opportunity to all, then the* Russian would grow great indeed.

The public opinion of the world can only hope, therefore, to prevent savage cruelty to the Jew within the Pale and the Jews of the world, better advantaged, should see to it that their fellow-countrymen leave the Pale and come to a land like this, where democracy declares that every man has a right to make the best of himself and to enjoy the fruits of his labor. I do not fear Russian Jews as an element in our population. I believe that under the American policy of opportunity they will develop, as I have seen them develop, into useful and forceful citizens. I know no such tragedy in the world as the tragedy of the Jews. I once stood upon the hill of Zion in Jerusalem and looked out over that mountain city, now invested with the pathos of the centuries and wrapped in the very tears of things. I saw its gray desolation, its great misery, its solemn sadness, and realized that the Jew had been a highlander, a mountain agriculturist, a fierce lover of his home. I saw him scattered about the world. I saw him preyed upon by all the fierce passions of men. I saw him shut up in Ghettos for centuries, and then accused of clannishness. I saw him deprived of land, and then blamed because he was not an agriculturist. I saw him robbed of his earnings by tyrants, and because he grew unscrupulous and developed uncanny power to get more earnings, accused of cupidity and greed. I have seen his vices grow as the result of his oppressions, and, yet, I have seen him hold on with an endurance and a courage and a steadiness that makes the Swiss, or the Dutch, or the Pole look trifling, indeed, to his ancient faith, to his national pride, to the dignity of his home, to virtues of sobriety and thrift with patience and public spirit. I have seen him grow eminent in every field of life, ruling great nations, pre-eminent in every art, unweakened in vitality, either intellectual or physical or racial—one of the great forces to be reckoned with in the civilization of the world.

We are Hebraic in our consciences, in the ethical content of our minds, in our notion of heaven and hell, and right and wrong, and, so far as I am concerned, whenever the Jew is oppressed, I feel that oppression as if it were the oppression of a brother; and whenever that great historic race is belittled or disadvantaged, I would resent it as I would resent an injury to a brother.

This democracy of ours, so strong and triumphant, must protest, therefore, against such deeds as the deed of Kishineff and the cause for it. It is the protest of the modern against the medieval, of the democratic against the autocratic, of light against darkness, of opportunity against privilege; and democracy has no choice but to take its stand and to speak its word. Hence, I am here as a democrat and a man and an American to protest against this medievalism, to welcome these people to our shores, if need be to ask that we look into our own life for any creeping manifestations of any such injustices, and to work for the infusion into our young life of that wide spirit of brotherhood, and of opportunity, which lay so fair before the eyes of Robert Burns, that gifted child of poetry and sorrow, when the century was yet young.

"Then let us pray that come it may,
As come it will for a' that;
That sense and worth, o'er a' the earth,
May bear the gree, and a' that;
For a' that, and a' that.
It's coming yet, for a'that
That man to man, the world o'er,
Shall brothers be for a' that."

Secretary Mayo read a telegram from Governor Heard, as follows:

Am heartily in accord with the purposes of the mass meeting, and favor the adoption of strong resolutions condemning the massacre at Kishineff.

W. W. HEARD.

Secretary Mayo then read the resolutions as follows, which were adopted by a rising vote of the entire audience:

WHEREAS, We, the people of the city of New Orleans in the State of Louisiana in the United States of America, have, in common with all Americans, read with a sense of indignation reports of the awful tragedy at Kishineff, a town in the province of Bessarabia, in the Russian empire; and

WHEREAS, Our sense of justice and of humanity has been inexpressibly shocked by the brutal and bloody persecutions of innocent men, women and children of the Hebrew race resident in that city; and

WHEREAS, We believe that this deliberate murder of Jewish men and this wanton violation of Jewish women is a crime against both human and Divine law; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the people of the city of New Orleans, in mass meeting assembled, do hereby record our emphatic protest against this inhuman and barbarous persecution of Jews in the Russian empire; and be it further

Resolved, That recognizing the ties of human kinship that bind us to all the peoples of the earth, we do hereby express our profound and abiding sympathy with those members of "the scattered nation" who have been the innocent victims of the Kishineff atrocities; and be it finally

Resolved, That we do hereby solemnly invoke his imperial Majesty, Nicholas II, the Czar of all the Russias, to adopt measures that will safeguard all his people from religious persecution, and will vouchsafe to them, irrespective of nationality, race or creed, "the blessings of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND

A meeting was held in Touro Synagogue, Newport, R. I., May 25, 1903. Mayor Patrick J. Boyle presided, and addresses were made by Rev. Dr. Porter, rector of Emanuel Church; Rev. T. Calvin McClelland, pastor of the Congregational Church; Rev. Henry N. Jeter, of Shiloh Baptist Church; Rev. Byron Gunner, of the Union Congregational Church; Rev. Israel Derrick, of Mount Zion Church; Rabbi Jacob M. Seidel, and Julius Engle.

The Mayor, in assuming the chair, said, in part:

There is hardly a country in the world in which the Jewish people are not persecuted. There was no cause for the massacre in Kishineff, and as an American citizen, I am pleased to be here to give utterance to my indignation. I am here in my official capacity and I think I voice the sentiments of the citizens of Newport when I say that we are in sympathy with the victims of this massacre, and then I am here as a member of the Christian world, to give utterance against this horrible act.

Mr. Max Levy was then unanimously elected secretary.

Rev. Dr. Porter said, in part:

There has been no time in the last thousand years when the Jews have not been persecuted and driven from one city to another. It is the hatred of the Jew that exists to-day. We know how they have suffered in some cities as a race and how they suffer to-day from deprivation. And to think that Russia, which pretends to be civilized, should allow such a massacre to take place! The Russian authorities sat still, and not until word came to St. Petersburg, was the word sent to stop the affair. Word has come from Washington that the Russian government will do all in its power to remedy the evil. How can you remedy the lives of the hundred people who were killed? Displace the governor of Kishineff?

What does that amount to? Our hearts go out to this community so far away, who were so terribly mutilated because of the lust for wealth and power. Who are these Jews? They stand for all that is noble and best. We Christians base all our knowledge of God upon what this Jewish people have done to preserve the Old Testament. We are here to-night to add our voice of protest, and have the Jews in this community take action, to show Russia that we have not one bit of sympathy for her hatred of the Jewish race.

The following resolution was read and unanimously passed:

The Israelites and their Christian brethren in the city of

Newport, state of Rhode Island and the United States of America, where men are equal, be their creed what it may, where justice and righteousness prevail and are extended to all alike, in mass meeting held this 25th day of May, 1903, do hereby express our sympathy for the victims and sufferers of the recent riots in Kishineff in Russia, where on the 19th day of April and the succeeding days during the present year, the most cruel persecution has been waged against the Israelites, where hundreds of our brethren have been ruthlessly slaughtered and cruelties too terrible to be mentioned have been perpetrated upon them by a raving mob incited by bigotry and urged by the love of plunder and the hatred of the Jewish name.

We, gathered at this meeting, would deem ourselves traitors to brotherly love and the rights of outraged humanity were we to withhold our expressions of sympathy for the suffering of our brethren so ruthlessly slaughtered and cut down.

We regret that in the present century in a land disguising under the name of Christianity and civilization such barbarity should be permitted to exist, and therefore be it

Resolved, That we express our deepest emotions of sympathy for the sufferings endured by our fellow-men who have so suffered the tortures and injuries inflicted upon them by the merciless and savage persecutors and that we mourn for these upon whom such cruel enormities have been heaped; and be it further

Resolved, That we co-operate with such persons or bodies as may be deemed expedient in affording pecuniary aid, and to act in such other manner as may be deemed advisable to mitigate the suffering of our fellow-men; and be it

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the president, and to the secretary of state of the United States of America, that they enter their protest against the perpetration of this terrible crime and they use their good offices and influences through the proper representative of this government to the Russian authorities seeking their co-operation, that they punish the perpetrators of these vile acts and that they use their influences and authority to prevent a repetition of such atrocities.

NEW YORK CITY

A meeting was held at Cooper Union, May 2, 1903. It was addressed by Louis Miller, Joseph Barondess, Herbert Casson, Edward King, and Abraham Cahan.

A meeting was held, May 3, 1903, at Teutonia Hall, under the auspices of the First Bessarabian Society.

At a benefit performance for the Kishineff sufferers held at the Windsor Theatre, May 8, 1903, Mayor Low said, in part:

I am happy to think that the Jews and Christians are able to live happily together as citizens of one great city. In New York there are many languages, but one kind of citizen. The great poet Shakespeare says, "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin," and when the tidings came from Russia I felt a genuine sympathy and fellow feeling for you. I am here, fellow-citizens, without race or creed considered, and honor you for your show of sympathy. I thank you for this warm and hearty greeting, and with all my heart I wish your cause well.

The Hebrew Veterans of the War with Spain, at a meeting, at which five hundred members were present, adopted resolutions, May 11, 1903, as follows:

WHEREAS, In the city of Kishineff, Bessarabia, in the Russian Empire, the world, in this era of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God, is confronted by a spectacle which blackens the escutcheon of the twentieth century, and

WHEREAS, The recent massacre of our Jewish co-religionists in Kishineff, with its accompanying incidents of arson, rapine and murder, the torture of infants, barbarous cruelties to the aged, and the desecration of women, so horrible, as to silence description, had no provocation but the creed of its homeless maimed or slain victims; and

WHEREAS, Our Republic, by the precedents of its past, has responded to the call of suffering humanity, whether stricken by the act of man or the visitation of God, now therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the Hebrew Veterans of the War with Spain, incorporated under the laws of the state of New York, composed of veterans of every branch of the military and naval service of our Government during the recent war with Spain, petition His Excellency, Theodore Roosevelt, President of these United States, to exercise his good offices by requesting the government of the Empire of Russia vigorously to prosecute the perpetrators of this latter-day St. Bartholomew, in order to prevent a recurrence of the orgy of assassination; and be it furthermore

Resolved, That the Adjutant forward this resolution forthwith to His Excellency, Theodore Roosevelt.

The Chinese merchants of New York City held a benefit performance at the Chinese Theatre, on May 11, 1903. The performance was arranged by Joseph A. Singleton, President of the Chinese Empire Reform Association, Guy Maine, Chu Chu, and Dek Foon. Addresses were delivered by Guy Maine, Rev. Joseph Seff, and others.

On May 19, 1903, the Board of Aldermen of New York City passed two sets of resolutions, one set intended for the President of the United States, the other for the Secretary of State:

WHEREAS, The forces of bigotry, prejudice and intolerance are repugnant to the emancipated intelligence of the modern world and antagonistic to the conscience of free institutions; and

WHEREAS, The citizens of this imperial municipality are appalled by the crimes against civilization, committed in the fair name of religion at Kishineff and Tiraspol, with their incidents of the desecration of women, barbarities to the aged, the massacre of infants, the mutilation of the dead and the indiscriminate butchery of an unoffending people; now therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the Board of Aldermen of the City of New York, petition His Excellency Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, in the name of humanity to protest to the government of the Empire of Russia against these unspeakable outrages; and be it furthermore

Resolved, That the clerk of the Board of Aldermen mail this resolution forthwith to the President of the United States.

WHEREAS, The recent atrocities perpetrated on the men, women and children of the Jewish faith in Kishineff, Province of Bessarabia, in the Empire of Russia, have stirred the nations of the world to righteous indignation and call for earnest protest in the name of humanity against the massacre of a people the only reason for which is based apparently upon religious hatred; and

WHEREAS, The outbreak which resulted in these gross outrages, prompting as they do the uprising of all Christendom in denunciation of acts which are a blot upon civilization and a crying shame to the religion of the country in which they happened, has roused the peoples of the world generally, irrespective of creed, against the wholesale butchery of inoffensive human beings; therefore

Resolved, That we, the Board of Aldermen of the City of New York, the direct representatives of nearly four millions of people, many of whom are of the Jewish faith, do hereby make protest against the barbaric outrages committed on the Jews of Kishineff, in the Province of Bessarabia, Empire of Russia.

Resolved further, That the Honorable John Hay, Secretary of State, be and he is hereby respectfully requested and urged, in the name of the United States of America and humanity, to protest with all power at his command under such provisions as usage, treaties and the laws of the nations will warrant, against any repetition of the outrages committed against Jews in Kishineff, Province of Bessarabia, in the Empire of Russia.

A meeting was held, May 24, 1903, at the Metropolis Theatre, at One Hundred and Forty-Second Street and Third Avenue, under the auspices of Congregation Hand-in-Hand of the Bronx. There were sixteen hundred persons present. The meeting was called to order by M. Pollock, who introduced N. A. Alexander as Chairman. Samuel Muller was chosen as Secretary.

Letters were read from Bishop Potter, Justice David Leventritt, Honorable Jacob A. Cantor, William Travers Jerome, Senator Platt, Governor Odell, Professor Felix Adler, Rev. Newell Dwight Hillis, Judge Tierney, and others.

Addresses were delivered by the Rev. George T. Donlin of St. Jerome's Roman Catholic Church, and Louis F. Haffen, President of the Borough of Bronx.

On May 24, 1903, Mr. Henry Frank, leader of the Independent Liberal Church, and Rev. Dr. Isaac Haldemann, First Baptist Church, delivered sermons on Kishineff.

A meeting was held on May 26, 1903, at the Harlem Casino, under the auspices of Mount Vernon Lodge, No. 71, Independent Order Free Sons of Israel. Addresses were delivered by Honorable Henry M. Goldfogle, Rev. Dr. Joseph Silverman, General James O'Beirne, and Rev. Madison C. Peters, of Baltimore. The last said, in part:

> I need not tell you that the Jews never crucified anybody. It was not their mode of punishment. And Christ would not have been crucified unless the Roman Governor had ordered it. My ancestors, the Gentiles, were just as much to blame as yours. I wish Russia could appreciate that, for its attitude toward the Jews is based principally on a misconception in this respect. The persecution is carried on without historical reason in the name of religion.

Concerning the statements of Count Cassini, the Russian Ambassador, who said the Jews in Russia would not engage in agricultural pursuits but were money lenders, Dr. Peters said:

> Now, the Ambassador from Russia either doesn't know what is going on in Russia or else he didn't tell the truth. The Jews in Russia are not allowed to own land, and where they are permitted to live in rural districts the land is so poor that even a Russian couldn't feed a cow on it. About the only way Jews are allowed to make a living in Russia is by trading with the poor class of peasants. And when a Russian has borrowed from a Jew and does not want to pay back the loan, it seems the proper thing for him to wipe the entire family of the lender off the face of the earth.

A meeting of the citizens of New York was held on Wednesday evening, May 27, 1903, at Carnegie Hall. About 3500 persons were present. Mr. Paul D. Cravath, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, read the call, as follows:

> A meeting of citizens, without distinction of creed, is hereby called, and will be held on Wednesday evening, May 27, 1903, at 8 o'clock, at Carnegie Hall, to give expression to the abhorrence and indignation universally excited by the recent outrages upon the Jews of Kishineff, Russia.
>
> [Signed] John A. Stewart, Levi P. Morton, John C. Brown, R. Fulton Cutting, C. Schurz, John S. Kennedy, Lyman J. Gage, William E. Dodge, Robert W. De Forest, Morris K. Jesup, J. G. Carlisle, Charles R. Flint, Henry Clews, Joseph F. Daly, Joseph Larocque, William G. Choate, William D. Guthrie, David McClure, Thomas F. Ryan, Francis Lynde Stetson, A. S. Frissell, Charles Scribner, August Belmont, John F. Dillon, Wheeler H. Peckham, John E. Parsons, Eugene A. Philbin, George Foster Peabody, Edmund Wetmore, Edwin Langdon, C. A. Griscom, Jr., James G. Connor, Charles C. Burlingham, Everett P. Wheeler, John De Witt Warner, William F. Stonebridge, William H. Baldwin, Jr.,

James Stillman, Spencer Trask, Ashbel P. Fitch, Bird S. Coler, Gustav H. Schwab, Cephas Brainerd, John D. Crimmins, Henry W. Taft, G. L. Rives, Paul D. Cravath, William P. Dixon.

He then announced that Honorable Seth Low, the Mayor of New York, had been designated as Chairman of the meeting. The Mayor was thereupon escorted to the chair.

The following were nominated as Vice-Presidents of the meeting:

Cornelius N. Bliss, John A. Stewart, Lyman J. Gage, John S. Kennedy, Charles S. Fairchild, J. Crosby Brown, Anson Phelps Stokes, Richard Watson Gilder, Alexander E. Orr, James C. Carter, William G. Choate, John E. Parsons, John D. Crimmins, James Talcott, William B. Hornblower, A. S. Frissell, R. Fulton Cutting, Gustav Schwab, A. D. Juillard, Abraham R. Lawrence, Charles A. Moore, Charles H. Van Brunt, Morgan J. O'Brien, John F. Dillon, William D. Howells, Smith Ely, John Harsen Rhoades, Charles C. Burlingham, William D. Guthrie, Wheeler H. Peckham, David B. Ogden, C. A. Griscom, Jr., Thomas F. Ryan.

The Committee of Arrangements, Mr. Cravath, Mr. William H. Baldwin, Jr., and Mr. Henry W. Taft, acted as secretaries.

The Mayor, on taking the chair, addressed the meeting:

About 250 years ago, indeed, the year after New Amsterdam became a city, some Spanish and Portuguese Jews found their way here and were made welcome. From that day to this, the Jews have been made to feel at home in New York, until to-day this city probably contains more Jews than any other city in the world. This circumstance gives us warrant to say two things, out of our own experience: First, that the Jew is a quiet, orderly and industrious citizen; and, second, that if treated with kindness instead of with cruelty, he becomes a source of strength to a nation and not a weakness. It also entitles the citizens of New York to protest vigorously against such horrors as those of Kishineff.

It is a noteworthy thing that this movement of protest in New York began upon the East Side. Before even the press had taken great notice of the long-continued Kishineff rioting, our fellow-citizens of Jewish birth, many of whom know by experience what a Russian riot is, had begun to raise a fund for the relief of the sufferers, and to protest against the outrages. Nearly three weeks ago I addressed an audience on the Bowery gathered for that purpose, and I told them, what I gladly repeat here, that their fellow-citizens of every name and creed are as one with them in detestation of this horror, and that we honor them for the prompt and effective steps they have taken to send relief to their friends.

But here I can say what I did not say there—for this is a meeting held under Christian auspices—that in the name of our religion we grieve that such a stain should be cast upon it. Russia is a friendly Power to the United States, and there are especial reasons why Americans think kindly of her; but not for this cause should we be silent now. Nay, rather, because we desire that the two nations may continue to be true friends, we beg her so to deal with those who are to blame for this shameful outrage as to make it impossible for such a thing to happen again within her borders. We beg of her to give more liberty to her Jewish subjects; for we may properly say that in freedom of opportunity, and not in restriction of privilege, for Christian and Jew alike, has been found, here in New York, a cure for such disturbances as those that in Russia have recently shocked the world. What New York has done for 250 years Russia can do, if she will. May God put it into her heart to do so.

Mr. William H. Baldwin, Jr., read a number of letters and telegrams from persons necessarily absent.

I regret that I shall be out of town on May 27, and therefore unable to attend the meeting to be held at Carnegie Hall on that evening. No community is wholly indifferent to public opinion, and I should have been very glad if it had been possible for me to be present and so testify to my interest in this endeavor to arouse public opinion not only against the recent outrages upon the Jews of Kishineff, Russia, but also against the religious prejudice which has incited them.

Yours sincerely,
LYMAN ABBOTT.

I deeply regret that I am unable to be present at the Kishineff indignation meeting. I hope the meeting will utter two notes so loud and clear as to be heard around the world, one of indignation for the atrocities on human nature itself in Russia and one of welcome and hospitality to our country for the victims of these medieval barbarities.

JOHN F. DILLON.

No one could entertain a stronger feeling of abhorrence than I over any such exhibition of intolerance on the part of one adherency of a religious system toward the followers of another. I must assume, of course, that the published reports of the outrages are true. Without knowing the details or the provocation I have been disposed to hold my judgment in suspension, but no one, of course, can for an instant excuse or tolerate such a flagrant disregard of the ethics that ought to be the genius of the brotherhood of humanity.

THOMAS C. PLATT.

BOLTON LANDING, Lake George, 25 May, 1903.

HIS HONOR MAYOR LOW, Chairman, etc., etc.

My Dear Sir: I am sincerely sorry I cannot attend the meeting called to express the indignation of American citizens at the horrible atrocities recently committed at Kishineff. I hardly need assure you that I am heartily with you in your purpose.

While those outrages in Russia stand pre-eminent in their savage cruelty, it should not be forgotten that they only present one of the natural upshots of a widespread movement which in our days has put a peculiarly repulsive blot upon our vaunted civilization.

The persecution and maltreatment of human beings on account of their race or their religious belief is always an offense not only unjust to the victim, but also degrading to the offender. But the persecution and maltreatment of the Jews as mankind has witnessed it, and is now witnessing it in several countries, has been not only especially barbarous in the ferocity of its excesses, but in a singular degree self-debasing and cowardly in the invention of the reasons adduced for its justification.

The Jews are accused of various offensive qualities and dangerous propensities. If we mean to do them anything like justice, are we not in duty bound to inquire how these qualities and propensities, so far as they may really exist, appear in the light of history?

For centuries the Jews were penned up in their ghettos and otherwise forcibly shut off from the rest of humanity, and then they were gravely accused of being clannish.

For centuries they were in most countries arbitrarily restricted in the right to hold land and to follow various civil callings, and then they were gravely accused of not taking to agriculture and of preferring trade.

For centuries they had to defend themselves against the lawless rapacity of the powerful and against the wanton hostility of the multitude, being robbed and kicked and cuffed and spit upon like outcasts having no rights and no feelings entitled to respect; and then they were accused of having become crafty and unscrupulous in taking advantage of the opportunities left open to them.

For centuries—and even down to our day—whenever a Jew did anything conspicuously offensive, be it in the way of business unscrupulousness or of social ostentation, the cry has been—and is: "Lo, behold the Jew!" While, when a Christian did the same thing, or even ten times worse, nobody would cry: "Lo, behold the Christian!"

And now, to cap the climax, even in this age of light and progress, and in countries boasting of their mental and moral culture, we hear apostles of anti-Semitism, even persons belonging to the so-called upper classes, insist with accents of profound alarm that if the Jews be permitted the same rights and privileges as other people, that despised race, forming so infinitesimal a part of the world's population, will surely outwit us all, and rob us of our property, and possess themselves of all the controlling forces of society; and that, therefore, the Jews must be shackled hand and foot with all sorts of legal disabilities, if not exterminated, in order to save Christendom from ignominious enslavement.

Nothing could be more absurd and at the same time more cowardly than such reasoning and such appeals. But it is to agitations inflamed by just this spirit that we owe horrors like those of Kishineff, in beholding which humanity stands aghast. These horrors are only one more revelation of the ulterior tendency of a movement which here and there even assumes the mask of superior respectability. Here is the whole question again brought before the tribunal of the conscience of mankind. May this event serve to put in clearer light the fact that the history of the world exhibits no more monumental record of monstrous injustice than the persecutions inflicted upon the Jews during so many centuries. We may then also hope to see the other fact universally recognized that wherever the Jewish race, with its wonderful vitality and its remarkable productiveness of talent and energy, enjoys the equal protection of just laws and a due appreciation of its self-respect, it will, far from remaining a race of aliens, furnish its full contingent of law-abiding, peaceable, industrious, public-spirited and patriotic citizenship, vying with the best.

Very truly yours,
C. SCHURZ.

Rev. Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis, being unavoidably absent from the city, expressed his regret, as follows:

The whole world is indebted to the noble Jewish race for the teachings of its prophets and sages and apostles and martyrs, and every man who loves his fellows must sympathize with the meeting called to protest against the outrages visited upon the helpless Hebrews in Kishineff. With you, I cherish the hope that this event, that has shocked the whole civilized world, will bring about a reaction, and end with a decree proclaiming religious liberty, toleration and charity to all the people of Russia. Mr. Beecher's old people last week passed resolutions of sympathy with the objects of your meeting.

Rev. W. C. Bitting wrote as follows:

Please be assured of my interest in the protest against the horrors that contradict the claim of Christian and violate all humane consideration. No utterance of wrath can be otherwise than righteous when directed against such atrocities wherever committed.

Mr. W. D. Howells said:

I wish your good cause—the cause of humanity—all success.

Mr. Baldwin then presented the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the citizens of New York have heard with intense sorrow and indignation the news of the recent outbreak against the Jews of Kishineff, Russia, and the shocking atrocities committed by the ignorant, brutal and misguided populace, resulting in the massacre of many men, women and children, and the wounding and maltreatment of hundreds of victims.

Resolved, That as citizens of a republic friendly to Russia, we earnestly urge the claim of the Jews resident in the empire to just and impartial treatment, and to protection against such outrages as the Kishineff massacre. We protest against the spirit of medieval persecution which has been revived in parts of Russia. In this country the recognition of the equality of all men before the law—whatever their race or creed—is a principle which, in practice, assures their loyal devotion to the land of their birth or adoption.

This is eminently true of the Jewish immigrants from Russia who have settled in the United States in large numbers, and who, as a body, have become industrious, thrifty, faithful and law-abiding citizens.

Resolved, That we sympathize with our fellow-citizens of the Hebrew faith in their grief and anxiety because of this affliction of their co-religionists in Russia, and in their energetic efforts for the relief of the people of Kishineff.

Resolved, That the people of the United States should exercise such influence with the government of Russia as the ancient and unbroken friendship between the two nations may justify—to stay the spirit of persecution—to redress the injuries inflicted upon the Jews of Kishineff and to prevent the recurrence of outbreaks such as have amazed the civilized world.

A vote on the resolutions was postponed until after the addresses.

Mayor Low introduced as the first speaker Honorable Grover Cleveland, ex-President of the United States, who spoke as follows:

I have only a word to say, but I wish to be counted among those who are in hearty sympathy with the purposes of this meeting. The influences which have called us together to-night grow out of our recognition of the promptings of Christian civilization and our dutiful devotion to the best and deepest of our national characteristics. This demonstration furnishes cheering and reassuring evidence that our American sympathy for the oppressed and abused, wherever they may be, our American love of humanity, and our attachment to justice and right, are still active and unimpaired. There is another American trait inwoven with the warp and woof of our national character, which is here exhibited in most gratifying freshness and strength. Our people, when their sympathies are touched, when their humane instincts are challenged, and when their hatred of oppression is aroused, are not afraid to speak; and in such circumstances it is not their habit to smother or cautiously soften their words.

Every American humane sentiment has been shocked by a late attack on the Jews in Russia—an attack murderous, atrocious and in every way revolting. As members of the family of mankind, and as citizens of a free nation, we are here to give voice to the feeling that should stir every true man, and every American worthy of the name. There is something intensely horrible in the wholesale murder of unoffending, defenseless men, women and children, who have been tacitly, if not expressly, assured of safety under the protection of a professedly civilized government. Such things give rise to a distressing fear that even the enlightenment of the twentieth century has neither destroyed nor subdued the barbarity of human nature, nor wholly redeemed the civilized world from "man's inhumanity to man."

We, and all our countrymen, protest in the strongest language at our command, and with all the moral force which our American citizenship gives to us, against these murders and outrages, and we insist that swift and condign punishment ought to be visited upon their barbarous perpetrators. Nor is this all. We will, in a fashion quite American, and with an open-handedness always displayed when human distress appeals to us, assist the families made headless and robbed of support by murder, and those who, wounded and terrorized, and in hunger and want, have been driven from their homes.

I know how easily our indignation prompts us to the use of strong language, and I know how naturally we are tempted to indulge in overdrawn statements and extravagant demands on such occasions as this; but I am sure that in our characterization of the crimes we here contemplate, and in expressing our detestation of the criminals, we cannot go too far. I desire to avoid sounding a discordant note, but yet I cannot refrain from the suggestion that the moral effect of our protest, and the usefulness of this demonstration, will not be lessened if we require indubitable proof before we accuse the Government of Russia of guilty complicity in the crimes committed within her borders; and it seems to me we may well consider the proper relationship between nations before we unreasonably demand too pronounced interference on the part of our government. I do not say that the Russian Government may not, by sins of commission or omission, be justly deserving of our condemnation; but we should not be swift to assume this when we remember that we ourselves have found it impossible to prevent mob violence and murderous assault upon the Chinese in Wyoming and Italians in Louisiana. I am distinctly and unequivocally in favor of informing our government in unmistakable terms of our indignant and deep condemnation of the late outrages upon the Jews in Russia; but I hope that in obedience to the dictates of American conservatism and moderation, which are never long obscured, we may be even now just and fair, and that we will be content to forego perplexing and extreme demands upon our government for violent action. Our public servants should hear us speak; but we certainly ought to be justified in trusting the care of our national honor and duty in the premises and the enforcement of the humane instincts of our people, so far as this may be within governmental action, to those charged with the responsibility of managing our public affairs.

In the meantime, let the people of the United States, gathered together in such assemblages as this, in every part of the land, fearlessly speak to the civilized world, protesting against every pretense of civilization that permits medieval persecution, against every bigoted creed that forbids religious toleration and freedom of conscience, against all false enlightenment that excuses hatred and cruelty towards any race of men, and against all spurious forms of government protection that withhold from any human being the right to live in safety and toil in peace.

Dr. Jacob G. Schurman, President of Cornell University, then addressed the meeting as follows:

If you seek to stir up the pity and indignation of the American people and to move them to censure and protest, you need nothing but the plain facts of the Kishineff atrocities. In the presence of those scenes of incredible horror appeal is superfluous and oratory tawdry and impertinent. The events themselves will shake the stoutest heart. Listen to the bald figures: Forty-five persons killed outright, 84 severely injured, maimed and mutilated; 500 other persons somewhat injured, but less dangerously; 600 shops sacked, 700 houses demolished, 10,000 men, women and children homeless and destitute, and altogether 20,000 suffering directly and indirectly from the consequences of this murderous attack.

I mention the effects only and pass over in silence the inhuman deeds by which they were accomplished—tongues torn out, ears and noses cut off, the cruel severing of limbs, nails driven to the brain, and other barbarous forms of killing; the desecration of womanhood by vile murderers, and the unpitied agonies of little children. Let us draw the veil over this ghastly and ghoulish carnival of robbery, butchery and hellish passion.

And who were the unhappy victims? The Jews of Kishineff. What offense had they committed? None. What provocation, then, had they given? None whatever. This is passing strange. Here is a piece of diabolical work which outvies the savagery of Dakotahs or Apaches, and it was wrought in Russia—civilized and Christian Russia! And is there no—I will not say justification—but no excuse, no mitigating circumstance? The historian must declare that it was an unprovoked assault and butchery of inoffensive and unprotected Jews by the Christian mob of Kishineff.

O Christ! What crimes have been committed in Thy name against the race which gave Thee to the world! Thy gospel of peace and good-will to man has brought the Jews at the hands of Thy unworthy followers too often only hatred, pillage and massacre. It was no accident that these Kishineff horrors fell at the Easter season. That blessed occasion was used only to accentuate religious differences, to foster outrageous misrepresentations regarding the religious rites of the Jews, and to intensify the spirit of bigotry, superstition and intolerance, which easily produce, not only hatred, but strife and murder. Thus religion, or rather the perversion of religion, undoubtedly played its part in bringing about the massacre at Kishineff.

But difference of religion had always existed. And in

Kishineff Jews and Christians had long dwelt together in peace, most of the Jews, indeed, being natives of the soil. But of recent years anti-Semitic agitation, which, unhappily, has spread over much of Europe, reached Kishineff also. An anti-Semitic newspaper was established in the city and, while the censor authorized this, he disallowed any other journal which might refute its libelous misrepresentations or antagonize its policies. The burden of this paper was that the Jews must be got rid of. And when the mob finally followed the thinly-veiled editorial advice of sack and murder, they were, from the moral point of view, not more blameworthy than the editor. And the Russian administration which officially authorized and conferred a monopoly upon this anti-Semitic journal will find difficulty in exculpating itself from responsibility for the terrible, but natural and indeed inevitable, results of its teachings.

I see it stated in high quarters that the Jews of Russia are idlers and exploit the Russian peasantry. If this be true, I have yet to learn that it is a justification of pillage and massacre. Our neighbor is lazy and given to usury; shall we, therefore, kill him—him and his family? This diabolical reasoning adds insult to injury. But the premises themselves are false. Jewish exploitation of Russians, forsooth! Why, under the laws of Russia, Jews are not permitted to buy, lease or rent real estate, whether rural or urban; they dare not do business with the peasants or lend them money; they are disabled from engaging in agriculture or (except under onerous restrictions) in mechanical pursuits; and the education of Jewish youth is rendered extremely difficult and often impossible. And a population thus legally cribbed, cabin'd and confined is accused of idleness and usury! Murder is hard enough, but what shall we say of this palliation of murder by lying and hypocrisy?

The trouble is in the Russian official attitude toward the Jew. He is not treated as a fellow-man; he is denied the rights of a citizen. Official Russia giving the tone, individual Russians—undoubtedly of the baser sort—carry it to th extreme of insult, cruelty, pillage and murder. Would Russia protect the Jew? Then emancipate him from galling restrictions and unjust disabilities and enfranchise him as he is enfranchised in the United States. I see no adequate and permanent security for the Russian Jew except the opportunity, now denied him, of being a man and a citizen. And, even in the midst of the present gloom and horror, I am not without hope that the Czar, who, I believe, is animated by a noble idealism, may yet confer the full rights and privileges of Russians on his now oppressed and suffering Jewish subjects. If not, America is still another name for opportunity, and a race of such capacity and endurance as the Jews is not only assured of triumphant survival, but, by virtue of its contributions to our highest civilization, is entitled to universal welcome.

Rev. Dr. Robert S. MacArthur was the next speaker. His address was as follows:

To the words which have just been spoken, I give a long and loud Amen!

We meet under the shadows of atrocities committed at Kishineff, shadows which darken the sky of the civilized world. The agonizing cries of Jewish men, women and children ring in our ears and almost rend our hearts. The cruelties inflicted by brutal Russians on helpless Jews have shocked civilized humanity. These cruelties are caused by racial hatred and religious bigotry. They carry us back to the Middle Ages, while we thought we were in the twentieth century. We were flattering ourselves that the days of such hatreds and bigotries had passed away forever. The report of these atrocities, therefore, fell upon us like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky. Every Christian pulpit, every humanitarian platform, and the entire newspaper press should ring with denunciation of these indescribable and inconceivable cruelties. These barbarians who call themselves Christians are utterly unworthy of the Christian name. They are a dishonor to Christianity and a reproach to humanity. They have brought the persecutions of the Dark Ages into the clear light of the twentieth century. Napoleon said, "Scratch a Russian and you find a Tartar;" we may say truthfully of each Russian engaged in these recent massacres, " Scratch a Russian and you find a demon."

Russia is the Great Bear among the nations. Russia, so far as the murders at Kishineff represent her, is the medieval barbarian in modern civilization. Russia slaughtered so many Chinese, and then threw their bodies into the River Amur, that the wheels of steamers were impeded in their progress by the bodies floating in the stream. Russia, with her " peace rescript " at The Hague and her atrocities toward the Jews, is the gigantic contradiction among the nations. Ever since the coronation of Ivan the Great, in 1462, the Czar of Russia has posed as God's viceregent. Since that time Russia has claimed a divine right to be the world's master. Russia is now aiming to rule the world. Her deepest thought is that one day the world's mastership will be hers. She wanted Siberia, and she took it. She wanted Central Asia, and she took it. She wanted Manchuria, and she is taking it. She wants India; she wants the universe, and she hopes to get both; but she may have to listen to the voice of Britain and America and Japan before she can claim possession.

The foolish story which perhaps was the immediate cause of the outbreaks at Kishineff, the story of the murder of a Christian child for the sacrifice of the Feast of the Passover, is a story that was told against the early Christians by pagan Roman persecutors. Similar charges were often brought by the superstitious and bigoted Christians of the Dark Ages against the Jews. The possibility that such a story could now be believed in Russia shows that some of the people are as illiterate and superstitious as if they lived in darkest Africa or in most heathen China.

Jews have been the victims of persecutions by so-called Christians in different lands and ages. The Christians guilty of these persecutions, in the name of the God of the Jew and the Christian, were demons rather than Christians. In the name of the God of Love they manifested the most murderous hate. They brought unspeakable reproach upon Christianity. They were disciples of Sataninity rather than of Christianity. Christians of this character make atheism respectable and even commendable. If such conduct were consistently Christian many of us would repudiate the Christian name. God would be better pleased with us did we doubt or even deny His existence rather than that we should invoke His name and then murder His children. In Spain the Jews have had numerous colonies since the time of Hadrian, but even eight centuries before the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition their fortunes were confiscated and their bodies were tortured. They afterwards endured all the horrors of the Inquisition in many parts of Spain. Violent conversions, the tortures of the Inquisition and thousands burned at the stake—these are the awful records of the fifteenth century in Spain. The incidents of their departure from that land are heartrending. Autos-da-fe happened in Portugal as late as 1776, and in South America as late as 1812. The story of these terrible persecutions is written in the blood of God's ancient children in many lands and centuries. In Poland similar persecutions have been endured. Religious bigotry and superstition are the prolific progenitors of agnosticism and atheism. Such atrocities are Satan's most effective agent. Racial hatred and religious bigotry are twin relics of barbarism. They transform earth, so far as their influence goes, into Hades. The Jews to-day, in their patient endurance of unspeakable wrongs, more nearly incarnate and illustrate the ideal character set forth by Christ than do the persecutors who falsely bear the Christian name. It is not remarkable that many Jews almost hate the name of Christianity, because all through the centuries many who bore its name were their Satanic persecutors. It is marvelous that men calling themselves Christians should be so false to the spirit of the Christ and of the apostles. Such false Christians forget that the Christ was a Hebrew of the Hebrews, and that the greatest of the apostles rejoiced in his Hebrew blood and training. I would rather be, at the bar of God and man, the persecuted Jew at Kishineff than the persecuting Christian at Kishineff.

America lifted up her voice in remonstrance against the persecution of the Jews in Roumania. There is no mightier voice issuing from any palace in Europe or Asia than the voice that issues from the White House. There is no throne of Czar, Kaiser or King higher than the Presidential chair at Washington. The foremost man in all the world to-night is the President of the United States; and the foremost private citizen in all the world is the ex-President of the United States. Russia listened when we protested against her trade policy in Manchuria. We stood with Britain for the "open door" for trade.

Is not religious liberty more important than any commercial opportunity? Shall we remain silent while Russia is attempting to murder a race? Shall not our national contempt for her cowardice and brutality find national expression? We protested against Spanish barbarism in Cuba, and we finally drove the Spanish bigots and barbarians out of the Western Hemisphere. No diplomatist in the world is more capable of dealing with the delicate and difficult question involved than is our accomplished Colonel John Hay. He has already declared that the Golden Rule is the fundamental principle in American diplomacy. He will assuredly find the means of voicing the righteous indignation of the American people and of enunciating the higher law of the righteous God. America publishes to Russia to-night this ukase: The zone of barbarism must decrease, and the zone of civilization must increase. All the governments with which Russia desires to maintain relations ought to utter their protest. No nation can long endure if its acts are condemned by the conscience of mankind. If Russia is to avoid the contempt of the civilized world she must discover and punish the savage perpetrators of these foul crimes. If our government will emphatically inform Russia on what conditions she can enjoy the respect, or even the recognition, of the American government, such action by the administration will be endorsed by the American people irrespective of political creeds or religious faiths. America, if true to herself, must rise above the barbarism of racial hatred. She must grant equal justice to all men of all creeds and all colors. Then and only then shall her voice be resistlessly potent in rebuking the atrocities of Russia, and then shall our beautiful America be fair as the moon, clear as the sun and terrible as an army with banners against all forms of evil wherever committed against men of whatever color or creed on this broad earth.

Standing beside the blackened homes of slaughtered Jews in Kishineff, sympathizing with widows and orphans and weeping over new-made graves, I denounce, in the name of civilization, and in the name of Christianity, and in the name of humanity, this atrocious crime. It is blasphemy to associate the name of Christ, the keynote of whose birth-song as chanted by a celestial choir was: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will toward men"—the Christ who arose from Olivet to return to his vacant throne, His lips speaking benedictions and His outstretched hands dropping blessings—with cruelties toward the people He loved and whose blood filled His veins. Notwithstanding all these racial hatreds in Russia, and to some degree in America still, as I believe in America, in liberty, in humanity, in brotherhood, in a true Christianity and in Almighty God, I know a day of millennial blessing to rich and poor, black and white, Jew and Gentile, is surely coming. So I sing with Burns:

"For a' that, and a' that
It's comin' yet, for a' that,
That man to man, the warld o'er,
Shall brithers be, for a' that."

Mr. Edward M. Shepard then addressed the meeting:

If I had my way this meeting would end with the noble and thrilling words which you have just heard. For me, indeed, it is utterly impossible to reach the mountain height of that eloquence, to stir or reach your hearts or your imaginations, after all that you have heard from those who have gone before me. What can I do except, perhaps, to say another amen, or, perhaps, to put before you the reason and the use of any expression on the part of American citizens?

It was a Jew and a Christian who told us that God had made of one blood all the nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth. And when this dreadful record of an Easter day came to us under the ocean, perhaps nothing struck one who thought more than this: how nearly one is this civilization of the world! Whether we call it Christian or Jewish, or by any name whatsoever else, we see and we hear and we know that "one touch of nature makes the whole world kin." The misery, the murder, the hardship and the ostracism of the Jew in Kishineff or the Jew anywhere else, or of any other race or of men of any other religion, is your care and my care, is the care of every nation, or ought to be, and the care of every creed, or ought to be.

Here in the Russia of Tolstoi, here in the Russia of the Czar, who as the noble sentimentalist that I have loved to believe him to be, could establish that court of arbitration at The Hague—here in that dominion comes a crime almost the worst of civilization. And yet the crime, as has been so well said here to-night, the crime is not merely indicative of the recrudescence of barbarism the world over, the hate that I am to have for the man of another or an alien land, the hate that you will have for the man of another religion, the hate some one else is to have for the man of another color or another race—I tell you that it is all of a piece, I tell you that the true note of civilization is that note, whether we shall sound it in defense of the Jews in Russia or in defense of any other oppressed race the world over.

But what, friends, can we do here? Over in Bessarabia, over against Moldavia, that part of the world whose policies are dark, blood-stained and dubious, there is a small city, a city like New Haven, or like Syracuse in our own State; there you have a population peaceful, industrious, law-abiding—and they are trampled and murdered as if they had been guilty, as they never were, of crimes such as those of their oppressors. What can you and I do? These Russians in Bessarabia, if they ever hear of any who are here to-night, or ever hear of New York, will they listen to what we say? Yes, they will listen. They may be made to listen by those whom we can help to make listen. There sits upon no throne a man so powerful that he himself is not largely a creature of this public sentiment of the world. Therefore it is that you and I may utter a voice which shall be heard in St. Petersburg, a voice which shall say there, "We are prepared to believe you, O Czar, and you, Russian Ministers, to be innocent. We are prepared to believe, if the feet of justice shall be swift and unerring. Let us see your administration of justice. Let us know that not only will the Governor of Bessarabia be sent to some other principality, that this official or that official may be removed or censured, that this ukase or that ukase may go down in chancery at St. Petersburg, but let us know and see a condign punishment visited upon the malefactors. Give us that, Czar, and you, his ministers, help him; and when you do that, then shall we believe that your sympathies are our sympathies, and that the Christians in America and in Russia are at one in all that is essential to Christianity. But until then—we say it with pain—we are in doubt, and you will leave us in doubt so long as you leave these outrages unpunished. Your skirts can be cleared only in one way."

And that thing, fellow-citizens, Americans, that thing we can say. And believe me, friends, no power on earth with its military and naval forces can override for one moment the sentiment of humanity to which we here to-night give voice. When this same anti-Jewish mania was illustrated in the republic of France in the Dreyfus case, every wise man knew that France for the moment was weakened to its center. Every time we know of a persecution in Russia directed against Jews, because they are Jews, we see beneath the veneer of that rapidly extending but imperfect civilization.

Mayor Low said a true thing, and it seems to be very largely to my mind the immediate lesson of this dreadful calamity and crime. You find the Jews over in Bessarabia under legal disabilities. Of course they do not vote, for the Russians themselves do not vote. Of course, where there is no liberty and equality of privilege, inevitably there is the darkness of medievalism. They tell us that the Russian peasants, those who are the most degraded, believe these absurd and horrid stories of Jewish wrong-doing. Of course they do this. As we were told a moment ago, the Romans believed the stories of the early Christians. Here in New York, and here in this republic of ours, the fact that we have this universal suffrage, the fact that every man, of whatever race, the moment he becomes an American, has the right to assert his manhood and take his full share in political power, that it is that gives the Jew or gives any other race or sect or creed in our land access to public sentiment, its share of public power, its assurance that public officers will be more or less in awe of the public power which that element may exercise.

Therefore, my wish is to see no harm to Russia. Of the four millions of Jews who are in Russia, you know, and I know, that most of them must remain there. Their roots are in the ground. There are their wives and their children and their occupations; and their bread and their butter there is earned by them, be it with tears and sometimes in sight of blood. There they must be. I wish well to Russia, and my best wish to Russia is that she shall give to every portion of her populace the right to be heard, that there shall be no misery and no darkness and no oppression. I would love to see Russia basking in the sun of freedom, such as Dr. MacArthur has so eloquently described as being our privilege here in America. That is my best wish.

The hour is late, but one word more. How shall we best test a government, or a civilization? Believe me, the crucial test is always to be found in its treatment of the minorities. Where the majority in faith, in power, in fashion; where the majority respects the minority—those who look differently, those who live differently, those who believe differently from them—there is the highest civilization. Where you have a government to protect the minority, to protect the unpopular, to protect, if you please, those who without crime or wrong are odious, that government is the best government. And I say that, not by way of further rebuke to the tyranny of Russia, which we declare to-night, but I say it of any land. May we here to-night take our lesson. In our land is there no form of persecution of Jews? Is there none? In the western nations of Europe, is there none? There is. Is there no persecution here of minorities, or of creeds, or of races that are in minorities, that for one reason or another are unpopular? Yes. Have we Americans never ourselves shared, or seen other Americans share, in like persecution? How many weeks ago is it that when, south of Grand street, in this very borough, on the occasion of the funeral of a revered rabbi, followed with grief by thousands and ten thousands of our most useful citizens, you had an outburst, not bloody, but as infamous in its lesser way, as the crime which we condemn to-night?

Let us all remember, those who are in fashion, those who are in places of social prestige or power, all who share directly or indirectly in this persecution or depreciation of any race, or of any creed, because it is not their race or creed, they take upon themselves some measure of the responsibility, even if it be a bloody one, for their hate presents occasions of this kind the world over.

We are here to respect one another; whatever be the creed, whatever the race, whatever the belief, we are of one blood, one before God and humanity. And when that law, whether in greater things or in lesser things, is violated, there is crime and there is wrong-doing. Friends, may this voice of New York go to Russia and to St. Petersburg, and to every corner of civilization, and may it, of all things, penetrate to the heart and the mind of every American citizen, that the more we read of wrong-doing in other lands, we shall make it certain that nothing in any way resembling it shall disgrace the Stars and Stripes, nor disgrace American sovereignty the world over.

At the conclusion of Mr. Shepard's address, the resolutions were put by the Mayor and carried unanimously, the Mayor saying that if all the citizens of New York had an opportunity of voting they would have expressed themselves with like unanimity.

The meeting then adjourned.

The East Side Merchants' Committee, New York City, on June 1, 1903, arranged a benefit performance for the Kishineff sufferers, at the Grand Theatre. Between the acts addresses were delivered by Bishop Henry C. Potter, John De Witt Warner, Justice Samuel Greenbaum, of the Supreme Court, Honorable Jacob A Cantor, President of the Borough of Manhattan, and James B. Reynolds, Secretary to the Mayor. The meeting was presided over by Julius Blumberg. Letters of regret were read from Governor Odell, District Attorney Jerome, and Eugene A. Philbin.

Bishop Potter said, in part:

> This is the first opportunity I have had of expressing my deep sympathy and profound interest in what you and others are doing to voice your indignation and the horror of the American people at the great wrongs which have recently been perpetrated against your race in Russia. To do so is a responsibility which belongs to us all alike.
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> There is a class of gentlemen, and sometimes, I am afraid, of women, who, not having the courage of their convictions, send you a clipping from a newspaper, pasted on a postal card, with certain sentiments thereon expressed underlined with red ink; call your attention to it, and ask your opinion. The other day I received such a postal card bearing such a clipping, with certain phrases underscored.
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> This article told that last autumn there were certain industrial eruptions resulting in violence and loss of life, and that there had been no public meetings of protest against them. It further said that there was a great incongruity that I should express my protest against that violence that happened in another country, in contrast to silence on what was said to be a similar occurrence here at home.
>
> The logic of the person who sent the clipping to me, and of the person who wrote the article, was that two wrongs make a right, and that because we may have been indifferent to wrongs in this country, we should be indifferent to wrongs

committed in others. Many things happen in the United States which are wrong and against which we should protest.

But whatever has happened in Kishineff, there is no doubt that the maintenance of law and the establishment of the rights of the weakest is not a concern of one man or one land alone, but of all men and all lands.

Bishop Potter told a story of a Scotchman who attended a funeral in a church and was asked by a weeping person who sat at his side, "Why don't you cry?" "Because," the man responded, "I don't belong to this parish."

"Now we don't belong to the Russian parish," said the Bishop, "but we belong to a republic that stands for the rights of the weakest and justice to all sorts and conditions of men."

"Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto"—"I am a man, and nothing human is alien to me." In that great conception of citizenship I beseech you to lift up your voices in protest against the wrongs you are now seeking to repair in so far as you are capable, and when those people come to our shores, let us make them welcome and give them to understand that this is a land of freedom and righteousness for the weak and for the strong.

John De Witt Warner said he felt that he was needed not so much in the cause of the sufferers in Kishineff, in whose behalf the world had been aroused, as in the cause of Christianity attacked by men who had kissed the cross, and of civilization attacked by a people posing as representatives of civilization.

The Kishineff massacres already had brought about a changed condition in the Czar's empire. The malefactors, he said, had been brought to bay in the doing of their crime, and to-day those oppressed there were more safe than they have been for years. He referred to the expulsion from Russia of *The London Times* correspondent because he told the world the facts, and pointed to that incident as one of the reasons why the Russian Government should be adjudged responsible for the crimes.

Borough President Cantor said that he had not come to make a speech, but to voice the sentiment of the people of the Borough of Manhattan in protest against the Kishineff massacres, and at the same time to urge upon the officials of the United States Government that it was time for them to speak and to speak in no uncertain tones.

Justice Greenbaum, of the Supreme Court, spoke on the legal phase of the question. He declared the right of this Government to protest to Russia to be based on the fundamental principle of the Constitution, that all men are free and equal. He said that diplomacy might prevent an official protest at this time, and that the question should be left to the executive authorities.

He believed, however. that as individuals all had a right to express their convictions, and his inference that the Russian Government was responsible for the outrages on the Jews was based on what he pronounced "indubitable causes": unequal public laws, and the restraint of speech and the press. He suggested a remedy, or a protection against a recurrence of such barbarities, in a universal organization, a great world-embracing brotherhood, based on the principle of the Constitution of the United States.

Resolutions were adopted protesting against the brutalities at Kishineff, and declaring the Russian Government to be guilty of "passive assistance, if not actual connivance" with them, and asking "our National Government to protest in the name of humanity against such inhuman practices."

The Jefferson Club of the Sixteenth Assembly District, New York City, at a special meeting held June 1, 1903, adopted resolutions condemning the Kishineff massacre. The resolutions were offered by Patrick Keenan, ex-City Chamberlain. An address was delivered by Alderman Donohue, of the District.

Resolutions of sympathy for the Kishineff victims were passed, June 4, 1903, by the Seneca Club, the Tammany organization of the Twenty-fifth Assembly District, New York City.

A sermon on the Kishineff massacre was delivered by Rev. Dr. Robert S. MacArthur, on June 7, 1903, at Calvary Baptist Church, New York City.

A meeting was held, June 7, 1903, under the auspices of the Independent Order Free Sons of Israel, at Temple Beth-El, New York City. Grand Master M. S. Stern presided.

Dr. George E. Lorimer, of Calvary Baptist Church, said in part:

> I am here that I may join with you in protest against this terrific, terrible, and I was about to say, unparalleled—but, alas! your own history proves otherwise—wrong against your race. And not only against your race, but against humanity. There has been a massacre; what are we going to do? Maybe there will another to-morrow for all we know.

Is this not an occasion when we should rise above charity and declare for justice, and should not go out from this meeting to-night until we have done more than protest against these outrages, but rather have taken organized action which shall confront Europe and demand another state of things?

I have all regard for Theodore Roosevelt, our President, and the men who may be associated with him; but I know something of the limits of diplomacy. I know that if an American ambassador or other official representing the government should be sent to Russia to inquire of Russia about these late happenings, he would be received with all seeming gladness and assured that it was only a little matter after all, which had been grossly exaggerated through the wicked newspapers. Then he would be offered a glass of wine and asked to drink to the health of the Czar of all the Russias. And in five years we might well again be meeting here to consider a repetition of that which has just disgraced civilization.

In five years we will be called upon so to meet, unless we take determined action and say that we are done with gold-lace ambassadorships. The only way is to appoint here to-night a committee and then to form throughout the country an association, to the end that a commission of Jews and Gentiles may be sent to speak, not for our government, but for the people of the United States.

You say that such a commission would not reach the Czar? True, but it would reach the press of the world, and make people everywhere understand that there is on foot a humane movement for hope to the Jews of Kishineff, but it would show that this sort of thing must stop everywhere, and that if it is necessary to take the Jew out of Russia we will take him out without his being massacred, without his being maimed and without his women being violated, and will bring him to our shores to learn of real civilization and freedom. Such a commission can be appointed to reach the Czar, directly or indirectly.

I believe that this Jew massacre may sound the death-knell of tyranny, and if the Russian, who is not hard-hearted by nature, the student class and the peasant class and the noble class can be made to feel that he is in the eye of the world, and that it is in our hearts to pity and help him, he will come to a different state. And you Jews to-night, in beginning this movement, will be lifting up the banner of freedom for humanity and for the world.

The Rev. Samuel Schulman said, in part:

It seemed to me that after the first outburst of horror by Jewish ministers, it were better for Jewish congregations to remain silent and let Christian men and women make protest. Let the conscience of Christendom speak truly and fearlessly and authoritatively, so that the force of its speech may penetrate even the skin of the Russian, and that he may remove the causes of the outbreak—causes that lie not as the skilful and ingenuous ambassador of Russia would have it, in the nature of the Jewish people, but as the prophet of Russia has it, in the medievalism of the empire.

It is not, as the ambassador says, seeking to throw dust in our eyes, that the Jewish people are usurers, when most of them are poor; but that the Russian government, seeking to divert attention from itself, had endeavored to incite its own people to massacre. A church of the strength of the Russian church owes it to itself to remove from the minds of its worshipers falsehoods as foul as those concerning ritualism which were the directly exciting cause of the outbreak.

Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis said that when he thought of the events of the past few weeks, he trembled for the future of the Czar and the Russian Empire. The Russian character, wherever in evidence, was marked by brutality, as witness the treatment of the Finnish people in the north of Russia and the action of the Russian soldiery in China.

He said in part:

I hold that the time has gone when any nation can say, "We will have civilization without the Hebrew," because the Hebrew is thrifty and industrious, because he makes money and saves it, because he has superior brains; and these are the real reasons why Russia is oppressing this people. The five-talent man always hates the ten-talent man.

Dr. Hillis paid a high tribute to the bravery and good faith of President Roosevelt, and compared the Secretary of State to Benjamin Franklin. He said he had understood from ex-Minister Straus that the Government was doing everything that was judicious in the matter of the massacres. He referred to an energetic message sent by Oliver Cromwell to a European monarch whose people were committing excesses, and he said: " I don't say that I would like to have an Oliver Cromwell for President, but, remembering that President Roosevelt once wrote a life of Cromwell, I say, ' Would we had thirty minutes of Oliver Cromwell.' "

The Rev. Madison C. Peters declared that the explanation made by Count Cassini, the Russian ambassador, added insult to the injuries done at Kishineff.

The Russian ambassador has said that the massacre of the Hebrews was brought on through their money-lending and because they would not till the soil. Does he not know that the Hebrews are only allowed to settle in just 110 towns, within the Hebrew Pale, among the ignorant, fanatical and demoralized peasants, who rob and plunder them at will? The only realty the Hebrews can acquire at all is that which is so poor that even a Russian could not raise a cow on it.

About the only means of subsistence for the Russian Hebrew is trading with the ignorant masses. Is not the Russian Christian to blame for the money-lending characteristics of the Hebrew? Did not Russia drive him from almost all other branches of trade with a price on his head and place his home at the mercy of others? Is it right now for Count

> Cassini to insult the Hebrew race because of that fact and sneeringly call the Hebrew a usurer?
>
> The anti-Semitic editor in Russia has said that the Jews should become Christians so as to come under all the benefits of the Russian laws. . . . . . The Jew has a double claim to consideration in America—that of his rights as a man in the twentieth century and his rights to protection under our flag.

The other speakers were Gen. James O'Beirne and the Rev. Dr. Rudolph Grossman. A large number of letters expressing sympathy with the objects of the meeting were received, among them letters from Felix Adler, Bishop Henry C. Potter, Senator Chauncey M. Depew, the Rev. Dr. W. R. Huntington, the Rev. Dr. David J. Burrell, Louis F. H. Haffen, the Rev. Dr. Robert S. MacArthur, Carl Schurz, the Rev. Dr. Robert Collyer, Mayor Low, President Jacob Gould Schurman of Cornell, and the Rev. Dr. Merle St. C. Wright.

A meeting was held on June 7, 1903, at the Academy of Music, in New York City, under the auspices of the Central Relief Committee. The chief speaker was William J. Brewer, President of the Albert E. Hall Company, who said, in part:

> In the sickening rays of the villains' torch, lighted during those two awful days at Kishineff, the Peace Conference at The Hague, suggested by the present Czar of Russia, seems a hollow mockery, and the Bible, which he professes to hold as his guide of faith and morals like a book of blood. No speaker can add to the strength of the protest this meeting sends forth to the world against those atrocities ordained in high places. He can only be the mouthpiece giving expression to the feelings of shame and sorrow that are bursting for utterance from your heart of hearts. The terrible plight of those far-off suffering people would still appeal to us were

their present condition caused by the havoc of pestilence, or drouth, or cyclone, or other natural phenomena, but the well of sympathy within the heart is sounded to the very depth when we remember that they suffer by the decree of those who should be their protectors.

We may differ in many things, we may be of different political faith, we may not kneel at the same altar of worship, but no creed of politics, no code of ethics, no religious sentiments can keep human hearts apart in the face of such a catastrophe as that of Kishineff, which has brought unspeakable suffering to so many of our fellows.

The Jews are more numerous in Russia than in any country in the world, and strange to say that there they are more harshly and cruelly treated than anywhere else on the globe. They are oppressed by special taxes and limitations established by special laws that work untold hardship upon them. Long since have they been excluded from Russia proper, and are still confined to overcrowded provinces, which in itself is a hardship that we in this land of the free can but feebly comprehend.

They are excluded from many vocations, but in spite of it they have prospered, and wherever they have been brought into competition on anything like an equal footing with others in Russia, either in the arts, sciences or professions, they have shown a superiority that has made them the object of envy.

Will the sons of the Puritan turn a deaf ear to their cry? No. Did famine-stricken India call to you in vain? No. Then will not Kishineff's appeal go unheeded. Your assistance to the sufferers will also act as a great moral force upon Russia. The moral effect of American intervention and sympathy is of no small moment. One of our editors well spoke when he said:

"When Cubans suffered from Spanish atrocities the United States drove Spain out of Cuba. When Christians are massacred in Turkey the powers can threaten to drive the Turks out of Europe, and if they are in earnest they can make good their threat.

"But when horrors worse than the Inquisition and as awful as anything that ever emanated from the perverted soul of bashi-bazouk are perpetrated upon the Jews in Russia the criminals may be expected to say to the world, 'What are you going to do about it?'"

It is with a sickening sense of impotence that humanity looks at the huge, impregnable mass of barbarism that stretches across the Old World, and of whose black bulk the civilized nations of Europe form only a little fringe of light. The methods that could bring Spaniards and Turks to order are useless against Russia. No foreign army can police those vast, inhospitable wastes, in which Napoleon was engulfed.

But Russia is not proof against the moral force of publicity. She can suppress or censor her own newspapers, but not those of the world. She can defy the military power of the nations, but not the contempt and detestation of mankind.

A protest meeting was held by the Ohavei Zion Society on June 7, 1903, at Cooper Union. Deputy Controller N. Taylor Phillips presided, and addresses were delivered by John S. Crosby and Dr. Moses Mintz. Resolutions to the following effect were adopted:

That the recent Kishineff massacres had proved the Russian Jew was doomed to martyrdom as long as he remained in that country; that there had grown up in the United States an unwarranted tendency in some quarters to restrict immigration, and that, therefore, all Jews ought to help the Zionist movement, and ultimately settle Palestine with Jews.

Mr. Phillips, in his opening talk, said:

Not since it was dispersed 2000 years ago has the Jewish race had anything happen to it that has touched its heart as a united people more than the outrage at Kishineff. We are stirred more especially because the crime has been committed in the name of religion. The whole American nation has been made more nearly kin on the subject of liberty and human rights by such expressions of sentiment as those of the Christian ministers who have declared from their pulpits that if this crime was committed in the name of Christ they themselves would prefer to be Jews.

As to this question of immigration, I blush for those of my race who agree with the ones holding the view that the doors of this country should be closed to future comers. They should not be closed, even partially. I say that the applicant for citizenship, whether he be a Jew or an Italian or a German ought to find our country great enough to welcome him. Let them all come.

Rev. Dr. Minot J. Savage, Unitarian Church of the Messiah, delivered a sermon on Kishineff, on June 14, 1903.

The United Irish-American Societies of New York held a meeting at Lidwith's Hall, and passed resolutions, which were ordered sent to President Roosevelt, Count Cassini, the Russian Ambassador, and the members of the committees on Foreign Relations in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States.

The Lithuanian Alliance of America, a Catholic organization composed of immigrants from Lithuania, at its annual convention passed resolutions calling attention to the laws against the Jewish people of Russia, and to the Kishineff massacres, and charging the Russian Government with incapacity.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

A meeting was held at the B'nai Israel Synagogue, on May 26, 1903. Upon the platform were Mayor Riddick; Rev. B. D. Tucker, D. D.; Judge J. M. Keeling; ex-Mayor N. Beeman; City Treasurer H. S. Herman; Judge A. R. Hanckel; Judge W. B. Martin; City Collector William L. Baker; Major Alex. Hart; Rabbi Cohen; Rabbi Benmosche; Rabbi Price, and Preacher Goldberg. Mr. M. Umstadter, a prominent merchant and member of the Common Council, presided.

Rabbi H. Benmosche, rabbi of Congregation Beth-El, opened the meeting with a prayer and an address. He was followed by Rev. Dr. S. R. Cohen, rabbi of Ohev Sholom Temple, Rev. B. D. Tucker, rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Rev. Carl E. Grammer, Judge Keeling, and Mayor Riddick.

Mr. Umstadter then read an address to the President of the United States and Congress, which was adopted by a rising vote of the whole assembly. It reads as follows:

An address to the President, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States. Adopted at a meeting held at the synagogue of the Congregation of B'nai Israel, Norfolk, Va., May 24, 1903.

The sufferings of the Jews in Bessarabia and other districts of the Volga provinces and in South Russia, cry aloud to the civilized world for sympathy and material aid. Driven from the lands where they have dwelt for generations, in undisturbed peace; old and young indiscriminately slain by a drunken mob incited to lawlessness by those who sought revenge, or spoils, their property destroyed and their wares and household effects thrown into the streets and stolen—these are some of the evils inflicted upon men, women and children whose lives are spent in honorable, peaceful vocations, infringing on no man's rights and following the highest precepts of strict morality.

When the Mohammedan Turks arose and massacred the Christians in Armenia, the civilized world cried aloud against the outrages, until the governments of Europe and America made Turkey heed the cry of common humanity.

The Russian Vodky-soaked Cossack and their corrupt district governments are no better than the Turk in his attempts first to rob and then to slay his victims, and we, the Jews and Gentiles of this city, state and country, appeal to our fellow-citizens, irrespective of religious belief—in the name of civilization, of morality and as children of the one God, we all believe in—petition the President and the Congress of the United States to appeal to the Russian government to cause a cessation of the infamous crimes which the local governments have made no attempts to prevent or punish.

The sudden order of expulsion of more than thirty thousand Jews from Kiev is simply another means of robbing the poor victims of all they have, and we appeal to the government at Washington to remonstrate with the proper officials of the government of the Czar to stay the order, so that those who are only too willing to seek homes in other lands may have time to gather together their possessions, or to properly dispose of them.

Recognizing the fact that nearly all of the Jews of Bessarabia and South Russia are of a class who, as a rule, are moral, industrious, thrifty and educated, and who therefore would, when familiar with the laws and language of any country—where observance of law and rectitude are honored as supreme virtues—make the highest class of citizens, we invite as many of them as choose to make their homes in America, to locate on the broad acres of this immense land, and pledge ourselves to do all we can to aid them to successfully start life anew in this the " land of the free and the home of the brave."

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to His Excellency, the President of the United States, to the Senators from Virginia, and to the Representatives of this district in Congress, and that we respectfully urge on each of them to appeal through our Department of State to the highest authorities in Russia to stay the hand of those who aim this great and further wrong against an inoffensive people, and this great blot and smirch on the civilization of this century.

Resolved, That should any of these people reach our shores, where the rights of all men are recognized under the law, we, the Jews of Norfolk, pledge ourselves to care for a due and proper portion of them, so that they may in no way be a burthen to our government or our fellow-citizens, believing that they will here, as they have everywhere, add to the material property of the communities in which they dwell, and become here, as they have in all countries, moral, law-abiding, self-sustaining citizens.

After the reading of the address there were speeches by Commonwealth's Attorney J. G. Tilton and Colonel George C. Cabell, now of Norfolk, but lately a member of the Legislature from Danville, Va.

Sermons on the Kishineff massacre were delivered by Rev. Dr. C. S. Blackwell, of the First Baptist Church, and by Rev. Carl E. Grammar, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Norfolk, Va.

OMAHA, NEBRASKA

A sermon on the Kishineff massacre was delivered May 24, 1903, by the Rev. Thomas Anderson, pastor of Calvary Baptist Church. At the close of the sermon the following resolutions were read and unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon the face of the earth; and,

WHEREAS, The fiendish massacre of Jews at Kishineff is a gross outrage of this truth and inherent right of every man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for which our fathers in these United States freely gave blood and treasure;

Therefore, we, the citizens of Omaha, Neb., and members and friends of Calvary Baptist church assembled in our public service, raise our voice in protest against such diabolical outrages and urge our government to do what it can to intercede in behalf of the suffering Jews of Russia, who are our brothers in our common humanity.

Resolved, That Mr. I. W. Carpenter be asked to prepare a copy of these resolutions and give it to our representative in Congress to be forwarded by him to the Secretary of State at Washington, D. C.

PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA

A mass meeting was held June 14, at the Academy of Music, to express the protest of Petersburg against the Kishineff massacre.

Mayor William M. Jones presided. The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. W. G. Starr. Addresses were delivered by Rev. George E. Booker, Judge J. M. Mullen, Hon. Richard B. Davis, and Hon. Charles T. Lassiter, members of the Virginia Legislature.

Resolutions were adopted by a rising vote expressing the indignation felt here at the Kishineff massacre and denouncing the atrocities which had been permitted by the Russian Government.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

A mass meeting of several thousand persons was held on May 3, 1903, at the Kesher Israel Synagogue. The meeting was presided over by Dr. A. Gartman, and addresses were delivered by Rev. Hirsch Masliansky, Abraham Cahan, Rabbi B. L. Levinthal, and Rabbi A. Ershler. The first speaker was Rev. Hirsch Masliansky, of New York, who told of the sudden uprising of the rabble against inoffensive citizens; the murder of men and women; the horrible mutilation of children, the pillage and massacre of young and old, whose only offense was their Jewish faith. This attack, he said, would go down in history as one of the most atrocious crimes of which a nation could be guilty, and would add another bloody stain upon the sombre page of Russian history.

World-wide had been the horror and indignation with which this act was viewed and throughout all lands the Jews were raising their voices in protest. The speaker described the deplorable condition of the Jews who had escaped the slaughter in Kishineff, and appealed to his hearers for contributions to a fund, which was being raised for their relief. " If we cannot send them a part of the liberty we are enjoying in this blessed land," cried out the speaker, " let us at least send them bread, some assistance to the suffering men and women who but a little while ago enjoyed all the blessings of wealth and prosperity."

Abraham Cahan, of New York, was the next speaker. He asked that the Jews throughout the world unite in protesting against the outrage which had been committed upon law-abiding and peaceable men, women and children. He spoke of the great meetings that had been held in New York City during the past few days, and asked that the Jews of Philadelphia unite with those of New York and the rest of the country in asking the Government to protest against the iniquity which had been perpetrated. He asked that liberal contributions be made to the National Relief Fund, in order to alleviate, so far as human sympathy could, the sufferings to which the survivors of the massacre were subjected. He alluded to the fact that in such calamities there should be no distinction made between socialist, orthodox or radical.

He, the leader of the socialists, known as the infidel, the heretic, stands now in an orthodox synagogue and preaches from the same pulpit with Rev. Masliansky and Rabbi Levinthal. He also recalled the effect of the riots in the early eighties, when young students, who were entirely alienated from their faith, returned to the fold, because of the common sorrow that befell the whole house of Israel.

Upon motion of Mr. Cahan, resolutions were adopted, providing, first, for the organization of a fund for the relief of the destitute families in Kishineff, and calling upon all Jewish societies, lodges and other organizations to assist in raising money; second, that an appeal be issued to the civilized world to join the Jews in protest against the atrocities which had been committed upon their brethren; and third, that it was the sentiment of the meeting that the Russian Government, which had permitted these massacres and outrages to be continued for three days in the large military city of Kishineff without interference, was held responsible.

A meeting was held May 10, 1903, at the B'nai Reuben Synagogue, Philadelphia, Pa. The speakers were Nathan Grayev, Rabbi A. H. Erschler, Rabbi Englander, Rabbi Brenner, and Ben Zion D. Oliensis. The last spoke, in part, as follows:

> I wish to be fair in my judgment. I wish you all to be fair. I would not want to be hasty in condemning Russia. Were there any doubt in my mind as to the accountability and responsibility of the Russian government for the brutalities in Kishineff I would be delighted to give it the bene-

fit of that doubt and to brighten our despair by a ray of hopeful sunshine. I would be delighted to be able to say the government in Russia is just, it is fair, it accords every one his due, it guards the rights of the citizens; the brutalities were committed in spite of the government. Alas, I cannot. We know but too well how closely guarded everything is in Russia. We know but too well that the whole country is undermined by a perfect network of espionage, and the slightest movement, the least word, the most insignificant action is at once scrutinized by the lynx-eyed officials, and should it appear in the least suspicious it is immediately suppressed by an array of glittering bayonets and stamped out by Cossacks.

Knowing all this, and knowing, furthermore, that both the military and civil arm of the government were strong and well equipped in Kishineff, while the riot proceeded—that more troops and reinforcements were available all the time as the transportation facilities and means of communication were not hampered in any way, and yet, during these three days absolutely nothing was done to suppress the riot, and the only answer the governor gave to the victims, crying piteously for protection from the raging mob, was a sneer and "Help yourselves," is it not an unavoidable conclusion that this stupendous and horrifying crime was committed, if not by the direct instigation, at least with the tacit consent of the Czar's government?

Resolutions embodying the protests suggested by the speakers were adopted.

A meeting was held May 10, 1903, at the Synagogue of the Congregation Sons of Halberstam. The meeting was addressed by Rabbi B. L. Levinthal, Jacob Margulies, Joseph Gross, Bernard Harris, all of Philadelphia, and Rev. Joseph Seff, of New York.

A meeting was held May 10, 1903, at the Synagogue of the B'nai Abraham Congregation, Philadelphia.

A meeting was held at the Synagogue of the Ahavas Chesed Anshe Shavil, on May 17, 1903. The speakers were Rabbi B. L. Levinthal, Rabbi Erschler, and Joseph Gross, and Mr. Smilk Miller presided.

A meeting was held at the Synagogue of Congregation Poal Zedek, on May 17, 1903. Dr. Benjamin L. Gordon presided, and the speakers were Jacob Miller, of Chicago, Rev. Dr. Marcus Jastrow, of Philadelphia, Professor Richard Gottheil, of New York, Jacob de Haas, of New York, and Rev. Henry M. Speaker, of Philadelphia.

A meeting was held at the Synagogue of the Congregation B'nai Reuben, on May 17, 1903. M. Weitzman presided and the principal speakers were Rabbi B. L. Levinthal, Nathan Grayev, and Rabbi Brenner.

For the action taken on May 24, 1903, by THE JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF AMERICA, see INTRODUCTION, p. xiv.

A sermon on the Kishineff massacre was delivered on May 24, 1903, by Rev. Dr. George D. Baker, at the First Presbyterian Church, in Philadelphia.

At the services in the Chambers-Wylie Memorial Presbyterian Church, at Philadelphia, Pa., on May 31, 1903, the following resolutions were adopted:

WHEREAS, Russia seems to be utterly passive in the situation, indifferent to the atrocities upon her Jewish subjects, and altogether insensible to her duty as a reputable Government among the civilized Governments of Europe to protect the weak and oppressed;

Therefore, This congregation hereby expresses its sympathy with the Jews, not only in Philadelphia, but all over the world, in this great affliction; deplores the existence of any kind or form of persecution against the Jewish race or of any of the despised ones of this world, and engages, as the opportunities arise, to help all such, to seek to influence public opinion against all acts of tyranny and oppression, and to pray to Almighty God that He will be to the survivors a strength in this, their time of trouble, and soon bring to them the same blessings of liberty as are enjoyed by the Hebrews in other lands.

A sermon on the Kishineff massacre was delivered on May 31, 1903, by Rev. Dr. Charles Wood, at the Second Presbyterian Church, in Philadelphia.

A mass meeting of six thousand persons assembled under the auspices of the United Kishineff Relief Committee, on June 3, 1903, in the Academy of Music, Philadelphia. The chairman of the meeting was ex-Mayor Charles F. Warwick, and the following were the vice-presidents:

Rev. Chas. Albertson, David Werner Amram, Dr. James Anders, Albert Ardis, Abraham Barker, Rev. Dr. H. Berkowitz, Rev. Dr. G. H. Baker, Dr. Herman A. Brav, Ralph Blum, Rudolph Blankenburg, Charles Bailey, George Burnham, Jr., N. Barnes, Charles H. Cramp, Dr. S. Solis Cohen, Dr. Jacob Solis Cohen, John Converse, Richard Y. Cooke, A. J. Cassatt, Ralph Cullinan, L. Clarke Davis, Joseph G. Darlington, Dr. Da Costa, Henry N. Dechert, J. G. Darlington, James Elverson, T. M. Etting, Rev. B. C. Ehrenreich, Rev. M. M. Eichler, Rev. James H. Ecob, Maurice Fels, S. B. Fleisher, W. W. Foulkrod, Henry A. Fry, T. J. Fernley, Herman Fischler, Harry B. French, John Field, James Gay Gordon, Ellis A. Gimbel, Louis Gerstley, Felix N. Gerson, Rev. J. H. Greenstone, George C. Graham, Jacob Gimbel, Charles C. Harrison, Wm. B. Hackenburg, William T. Harrity, Max Herzberg, Thomas B. Harend, Rev. F. A. Hinckley, Rev. Thomas A. Hoyt, Rev. Dr. M. Jastrow, Gabriel Joseph, Ryerson W. Jennings, W. W. Keen, Ernest Kraft, Rabbi B. L. Levinthal, Jacob D. Lit, August B. Loeb, Samuel Lit, Leo Loeb, Ephraim Lederer, Louis Edward Levy, H. M. Lewis, Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, E. Moore, Dr. Martin, Dr. J. H. Musser, Joseph McCurdy, Rev. O'Connor, Senator Boise Penrose, James Pollock, William Perrine, C. Stuart Patterson, George W. Pepper, M. Patterson, Archbishop Ryan, Morris Rosenbaum, Harry C. Ransley, Judge M. Sulzberger, Jacob Singer, Dr. J. V. Shoemaker, Justin C. Strawbridge, Frank Stephens, Dr. Kerr Boyce Tupper, Rev. Floyd Tompkins, Horace Traubel, E. L. Tustin, Nathan Tuttleman, Robert E. Thompson, Edgar A. Temis, E. A. Van Valkenburg, John Wanamaker, Clinton R. Woodruff, Herbert Welsh, Thomas Wanamaker, David Wallerstein, Dr. J. M. White, S. Burn Weston, Thomas E. White, Edward H. Weil, Rev. Charles Wood, Charles Warwick, Dr. Ellwood Worcester, J. Weiss, Louis Wagner.

The speakers who addressed the meeting were former Judge James Gay Gordon, the Rev. Russell H. Conwell, Judge William N. Ashman, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Krauskopf, Mayor Joseph E. Nowrey, of Camden, N. J., Judge Mayer Sulzberger, and Professor I. A. Hourwich, of Washington, D. C.

At the back of the stage appeared the sentence from Leviticus, the inscription on the Liberty Bell: "Proclaim liberty throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." During the meeting a delegation of two hundred Camden citizens entered, headed by Mayor Joseph E. Nowrey, Sheriff C. J. Minis, Professor James Bryan, Rev. Dr. William J. Cambron, Samuel P. Jones, Charles H. Ellis, George D. Boston, Edward H. Neiland, J. H. Perksie, Abr. Furman, Herman M. Sorin, and Nathan Furman.

Mr. William B. Hackenburg called the meeting to order and introduced ex-Mayor Charles F. Warwick as the chairman of the meeting. Mr. Warwick said:

Ladies and Gentlemen: It has been a long time since I served as even a substitute for a mayor, but my choice was probably due to the adage that "once a mayor, always a mayor." I consider it one of the greatest privileges and honors of my life to preside at this meeting, because I know the heart of Philadelphia speaks in this hall to-night to protest against barbarities and inhumanities against a people whose only crime is a heroic resolve to live and worship the God of their fathers.

The chairman then introduced Director of Supplies Frederick J. Shoyer, who, on behalf of Mayor Weaver, said:

I am here to represent as best I can His Honor, the mayor of the city of Philadelphia, and no one more fully appreciates your disappointment at his inability to be present than I do, but because of a previous engagement his attendance to-night is impossible. The right of the people peaceably to assemble to petition the government for redress of grievances is vouched to the people of the United States even as against their own rulers. The law of nations and of nature, with reference to certain inalienable rights, makes one family of all the peoples of the earth. These rights are that life and liberty shall be and remain inviolate, and that property shall not be forfeited except by due process of law. The recognition of these principles makes possible the freedom of intercourse between nations in time of peace, and in times of war prevents armies from harboring malice or committing barbarities, and no breach is allowed to go unpunished.

Bearing in mind these rights and their denial to a free, outraged and most respectable portion of a community, a people has assembled itself in public meeting in this, the foremost city of the greatest country of personal, political and religious freedom. The occasion of this conference is the news that has reached us that in Kishineff, Russia, certain atrocities upon a Jewish portion of the community have been perpetrated which seem incredible. Men have been massacred with ferocious cruelty; women outraged with indescribable horrors; and, as if it were necessary to complete this most heinous work, innocent babes have been offered to vengeance. It is to discuss this situation in an intelligent and dispassionate manner, that only the American people can appreciate, that we are gathered together, and to all of this His Honor, the mayor of the city of Philadelphia, gives his ardent and unqualified endorsement.

Mr. Warwick, after the conclusion of Mr. Shoyer's remarks, introduced ex-Judge James Gay Gordon.

Ex-Judge James Gay Gordon said:

The carnage at Kishineff is Christianity's contribution to the opening history of the twentieth century of the Christian era. The incident itself—the fact that unoffending Jews have been mercilessly and cruelly slaughtered by Christians, is novel neither in the extent or barbarity of the massacre. What took place at Kishineff has been taking place with more or less regular recurrence from the time of Calvary. The only unusual fact about the recent slaughter is that it has taken place to-day, at this stage of civilization, and in a country esteemed orderly and law-abiding. In all other respects Kishineff is simply a reproduction in the stronger lights of the twentieth century of the treatment of Jews by Christians ever since the latter became a religious body of power sufficient to persecute.

This meeting has been called to protest against the barbaric treatment of the Jews within the domain of the Czar of Russia. Upon what logical basis can such a protest be recorded by us of America? To whom shall the protest be sent, and what shall be its nature? What is it we are called upon to protest against? Surely not merely that a score or more of innocent men have been murdered. Bloodshed is the occupation of most of the civilized nations of the world to-day, and murder is occurring in all the communities of the earth day by day. Who would not protest against murder? The laws of all states prescribe penalties for the crime and methods for its detection and punishment. Neither is it the fact that in this little Russian town a mob, setting all authority at defiance, committed a number of murders with circumstances of unusual atrocity. This, too, is a matter of almost daily occurrence. Not many months since in our own State local authority was paralyzed by riotous assemblages and blood stained the soil in more counties than one. There must be, therefore, in this Russian incident something more than the mere loss of life and defiance of law in a distant nation that would cause or justify the assembling of this public meeting to protest against facts otherwise so common and unnoteworthy. Considered dispassionately and honestly, an assemblage of American citizens has only one ground upon which to stand in asking that the recent violation of law in Russia should be made the subject of extraordinary attention, and that ground must be plain to every mind not blinded by prejudice or controlled by hate and passion.

The Jews who were killed at Kishineff were killed because they were Jews, and were killed by Christians, in the name of Christianity. When the mob set about its work of horror, it made no mistake as to its victims. The object of their cruelty was kept clearly before them even at the very height of their murderous frenzy, and that object was the Jew, and none fell but Jews. And the deadly strokes were all delivered by Christian hands. In other words, Kishineff simply demonstrated that religious intolerance upon the part of Christians to-day is made of the same fiber that it was from the beginning, and that where it exists in the heart it needs only a suitable environment and opportunity for its exhibition in the murderous form it has ever displayed. That is the fact with reference to Kishineff, and to Americans the lesson is obvious, the warning clear and emphatic.

An attempt to give a political color to the Jewish slaughter and to cast the responsibility upon the government of the Czar cannot be tolerated by any fair-minded observer of the facts. When we are told that the local authorities at Kishineff did not put down the mob and protect the Jews, this proves nothing but the powerlessness of the local authorities, and does not assign the cause of the massacre. How often in the past have mobs taken possession of towns and cities within our own country; how often within the past few years jails have been broken open, stores looted, citizens shot down in the streets, or lynched at the lamp post, or even burned at the stake, while jailers, marshalls and sheriffs trembled and stood still? Would any one think of laying the blame for the atrocities of a mob in Pennsylvania that a sheriff did not restrain at the door of the executive authority at Harrisburg or at Washington? What occurred at Kishineff was in substance not different from this. The hounded and despised Jews were brutally dismembered by an uprising of the native population which the local magistrates neglected or were unable to suppress. To charge the Czar or his government with inspiring these horrors would be as just as to charge his Excellency, the Governor of this Commonwealth, with the next outbreak which may occur in any county of this State. Yes, the slaughter at Kishineff should be met with a protest from America. That protest, however, should not go to the Czar of Russia, but to the Holy Synod, the head of the Greek Church, representing organized Christianity in Russia.

It is Christianity that is on trial, and not the government of the Czar. The Jew comes out of this carnage, as he has always come out of persecution in the past, with a character more Christian than his Christian persecutor. Of all races in the tide of time that have been the victims of religious intolerance, the Jew alone has exemplified the doctrine of non-resistance taught by the founder of Christianity in the Sermon on the Mount. For now nineteen centuries, he has been the unresisting victim of Christian intolerance. When smitten he has not struck back at his assailant, but has turned the other cheek to the smiter, as the Master whom Christians profess to follow taught that his disciples should do. The Russian barbarities concern the future status of the Jew less than the future status of Christianity. Allied with temporal power, the Christian church has always been intolerant and generally cruel. In this respect the twentieth century is not different from the Middle Ages; St. Bartholomew's Day has its modern counterpart in Kishineff. The

Torquemadons and Lauds of the past have their successors in the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Holy Synod of to-day.

That Christendom, out of its vast wealth, shall send thousands for the relief of the victims of Christian persecution will not atone for the murderous deed or blot out the infamous stigma. We would send our dole of relief to the victims of Hindu barbarity—to the suffering communities of India or China. We exploit our charities upon such occasions without regard to the race or creed. We do this from an instinct of humanity common to all peoples of whatever creed. Christianity cannot absolve itself or regain its rectitude at the bar of conscience by any such mercenary atonement. There is one thing, and one thing only, that the followers of the Nazarene Jew can do that will save themselves from shame and their church from reproach, and that is to assert in terms of unequivocal emphasis not only the denunciation of the murder of the Jews, but also the absolute and unqualified rights of conscience to all men of every creed and in every land. Upon this subject no equivocal utterance will suffice. Religious intolerance and persecution, whether it employ the sword or take the form of social or political ostracism, must be denounced by Christians as a crime abhorrent to the essence of their religion and to the life and teachings of the Jewish founder of their faith. On this subject of religious toleration Americans can hold no equivocal position, neither can Christianity speak with reservation or ambiguity. The quality of tolerance, like the quality of mercy, is not strained. It is either absolute and utter, or else it is intolerance which only waits for the opportunity to burst into persecution.

Speaking as one born into an inheritance of Christian faith, to which his heart and maturer mind still render assent, I should abjure that faith and renounce all connection with that church did it not hold and avow the absolute right in all men to worship God according to their own personal convictions and conscience without suffering the slightest diminution of political, social or industrial equality.

I protest in the name of the Master of Christianity against the murder of the Jews at Kishineff. I protest in the name of the doctrine of peace and brotherhood which he taught. I protest finally, as an American living under a Constitution whose chief corner-stone is a guarantee of civil and religious liberty to all men.

Kishineff is a warning as well as a lesson. Religious hate in Russia took the form of slaughter because it displayed itself in a land where human life is held cheap, where militarism prevails, where the church is allied with a despotic government and where force and might are the measure of right and law. In other words, religious intolerance in Russia lifted the sword because the sword was near at hand and the known weapon of power. The point to be emphasized is, however, that the motive was religious hate, and that through the gaps in that struggling, murderous mob can be seen the fluttering skirts of the Christian priest.

In America the same motive, the same intolerance and hate would employ a different weapon and adopt subtler means to execute its barbarous vengeance. The cruelty of religious intolerance is measured only by its opportunities. Nothing in all its history has shown itself more cruel than the Christian fanatic with a sword in his hand. Kishineff for sheer savagery cannot be exceeded by any massacre history records. Intolerance bides its time and waits its opportunity. The ostracism of Jews by Christians in America is only Kishineff with a mask on. The religious hate which in this country taboos the Jew in trades, or at the public hotel, or that assails him with sneers and scornful epithets in the street, would drive nails through his head, would cut off the breasts of mothers and dash children from housetops to the pavements in Russia. The demonstration of tolerance depends upon its environment, but the motive is everywhere and always the same.

Let American Christians, therefore, use this occasion to rededicate themselves to the foundation principles of their government, and let American Christians protest against all forms of religious intolerance under whatever name or guise and against whom or whatsoever faith, and declare Christianity as being the religion of toleration, "as broad and general as the casing air." Every form of Christian faith should unite in such a declaration and should join in a protest against the outrages of Kishineff, inspired by religious hate at Kishineff.

That branch of the Christian Church, no matter what its name or how numerous or few its members, that would halt or equivocate upon such a subject is neither Christian in principle nor worthy of the trust and liberties of the American government. Let Rome and Geneva, cathedral and meeting house, unite in common defense of their faith, against the stain put upon it by Christians at Kishineff. If Christianity does not deny intolerance and persecution in every form, it is an outlaw at the bar of humanity, and it crucifies afresh the gentle Jew who yielded himself up even unto death that gentleness and love, peace and brotherhood, should prevail over all the world even unto the ends thereof.

Rev. Dr. Russell H. Conwell, the next speaker, took issue with Judge Gordon upon several points, saying:

I want to declare that the outrages were not Christian proceedings. It is impossible for a Christian to persecute his fellow-beings or to be unkind to the Jews, to whom we owe so much. Any cruelty in the guise of Christianity is a sham. I cannot feel that in this great city there is a single person who would have participated in the recent massacre. My belief was vindicated when, without a dissenting vote, the golden tongued Sulzberger was made a judge of our Philadelphia courts.

Continuing, the speaker said:

When I look around and before me and catch a sight of the glorious American flag, the sight inspires me to think that the United States means to interfere and say something by way of protest in this Kishineff matter, and if America does speak, her words will have influence in the remotest quarters of the world.

This meeting may inspire our fellow-citizens in other sections to hold similar meetings. We should, therefore, express our disapproval in conservative terms if we wish to make them effective. If you think that what is said here to-night will not reach beyond the boundaries of the walls of this building, you will find that you are mistaken. Russia is a great government, and she knows that to-day the eyes of the entire civilized world are upon her in view of the Kishineff horrors, and you will find that she has ways of learning what we are doing here to-night.

We have cause to sympathize with all persecuted peoples, for the footsteps of the men who first came to our shores were those of men who had suffered religious persecution in their native lands.

The men or mob that committed the outrages in Kishineff were not Christians. Christianity means good character, a loving heart for our fellow-men. As Christians we denounce the affair as unchristian.

A speaker who preceded me said that there were some spirits even here in Philadelphia narrow enough to attempt to persecute Jews in a petty way, and he has intimated that if these persons were in Russia they would be soon as bad as the Kishineff persecutors. I do not share his opinion. I cannot believe that there are any such persons in this city. I know that there is a desire on the part of some people in Philadelphia to say harsh things about Jews and indulge in petty persecutions, but I will never believe that this is a spirit representative of this City of Brotherly Love, where the persecuted of all nations and races have ever found a welcome refuge.

Brother Jews, Philadelphia has heartily welcomed you. We will tell the Czar that we hold him responsible for this matter, not as Christians or Jews, but as Americans. Whatever goes out from here, I don't want the Czar to think that we absolve him from responsibility in this affair. We want to tell the Czar that he should do for Russia what he has tried to do for all the nations in the world by establishing the peace tribunal to prevent bloodshed and strife. It may be true that the Jew by his thrift has excited the envy of his shiftless neighbors in Russia as well as elsewhere, but this does not absolve the Czar from blame.

Judge William N. Ashman followed Mr. Conwell. He said:

I do not altogether agree with what was said by that distinguished and eloquent judge, whom I have always admired and whom I admire to-day. I think he was too severe upon Christians and not quite severe enough upon Russia. I am a Christian, but I would not be a Christian at all if I hated a Jew, and we are here to-night to protest against the action of Russia.

It is near time, I think, for us to recast the word civilization. It does not mean rich cities, vast armies and navies. All these may be possessed by a nation and yet there may be something behind it all that may class that nation as uncivilized.

Christianity means life because it puts men of all ranks side by side and recognizes in them representatives of all ages having a common destiny in view. That is true Christianity. That is the civilization of the United States. I am sorry to have to say that in that sense Russia is not civilized.

This protest which we are making means, perhaps, more than any of us think. It may be called, perhaps, the battle of paper bullets, but these are the weapons that are going to revolutionize the world. Decrees from tribunals will, perhaps, reach Russia, and they will say to that mighty nation, "You are outside of the pale of civilization." The same decrees will say to her, "We will not have anything to do with you. Your commercial and diplomatic relations with the civilized world are sundered." In face of this decree from the tribunal of the people, Russia could not for a moment stand.

Upon the invitation of the chairman, George McCurdy, president of Common Council, read the following resolutions, which were adopted by the meeting with acclamation:

Resolved, That the citizens of Philadelphia heard with intense sorrow and indignation the news of the recent outbreak against the Jews of Kishineff, Russia, and the shocking atrocities committed there, resulting in the massacre of many men, women and children, and the wounding and maltreatment of hundreds of victims.

Resolved, That we earnestly urge the claim of the Jews resident in the empire to just and impartial treatment, and to protection against such outrages as the Kishineff massacre. We protest against the spirit of medieval persecution which has been revived in Russia. In this country the recognition of the equality of all men before the law—whatever their race or creed—is a principle which, in practice, assures their loyal devotion to the land of their birth or adoption. This is eminently true of the Jewish immigrants from Russia who have settled in the United States in large numbers, and who, as a body, have become industrious, thrifty, faithful and law-abiding citizens.

Resolved, That we sympathize with our fellow-citizens of the Hebrew faith in their grief and anxiety because of this affliction of their co-religionists in Russia and in their energetic efforts for the relief of the people of Kishineff.

Resolved, That the people of the United States should exercise such influence with the government of Russia as may be practicable to stay the spirit of persecution—to redress injuries inflicted upon the Jews of Kishineff and to prevent the recurrence of outbreaks such as have amazed the civilized world.

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States and to the Secretary of State.

Mr. Warwick read letters from Archbishop Ryan, Governor Pennypacker, and Bishop Whitaker, expressing sympathy with the purposes of the meeting, and protesting against the massacre.

PRINCETON, N. J., May 23, 1903.

BEN ZION D. OLIENSIS, ESQ.

My Dear Sir: Since my recent conference with you and your associates, in which you urged me to attend a mass meeting to be held in the city of Philadelphia, to give expression to the feelings aroused by the terrible barbarities to which the Jews have recently been subjected in Russia, I have fully determined that there is no way in which I can arrange my affairs so that I can accept your invitation. The object of the meeting is one which naturally stirs the sensibilities of every right-thinking man, and I do not wonder that our fellow-citizens in Philadelphia, as well as in other American cities, seek to unite in expressing their deep sense of horror at the cruelties which have recently been called to their attention. I hope that this meeting and the expression of American sentiment attendant thereupon may have the effect of terminating such cruel incidents and at the same time affording relief to those who have already suffered.

You will probably be surprised to learn, after my assurances to you that it would be impossible for me to attend any of the meetings of this character to which I have been invited, that I have, nevertheless, consented to attend such a meeting to be held in New York, Wednesday, May 27.

This invitation I have accepted in consequence of a condition of affairs (not understood by me at the time of my conference with your committee), by which I had become so far committed without intending it that it was impossible for me to refuse to answer the expectations which had been aroused.

Yours very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE, LOGAN SQUARE,
PHILADELPHIA, June 1, 1903.

Dear Sir: In reply to your request for a copy of my address on the occasion of the Citizens' Protest Meeting, on Wednesday evening, I beg to say that by an engagement of some months' standing I am obliged to be present at the academic exercises of St. Joseph's College on that evening.

I am, of course, in entire sympathy with the object and spirit of the citizens' meeting. I have a profound horror of the wholesale massacre of women and children at Kishineff and believe that the public opinion of the world should be united in condemnation of it.

Yours sincerely,

P. J. RYAN,
Archbishop of Philadelphia.

Rev. Dr. Krauskopf was the next speaker. He said:

Mr. Chairman: I rise to speak to-night, not as a Jew, but as an American citizen; not as a son of the Hebrew race, but as a member of that larger world-wide family named Humanity. Had the pillaged and outraged and massacred of Kishineff been Roman or Greek Catholics or Finnish Protestants, I would have raised my voice in protest and denunciation as loudly as I raised it from this very platform on diverse prior occasions, at the time when the downtrodden Irishmen clamored for home rule, or when the oppressed Russian Christians entreated for deliverance from the cruelties of Siberian bondage; as loudly as on other platforms I denounced the wrongs done the negro, Cuban or Boer. Past is the day in civilized lands when only those were considered of concern who shared one's own creed or blood. The religion that is not broad enough to plead the cause of the wronged of all peoples is in our day regarded unworthy of its name.

The widespread demonstration of this truth at the present time is the silver lining to the dark cloud that Russian atrocity has raised across the land of the Muscovite. Through its rifts we catch glimpses of a beauteous beyond, of a time when even such sporadic outbursts of fanaticism and scoundrelism as recently shocked the world will be made impossible by the closely interrelated sympathies of the whole human family.

A time there was when, instead of one Kishineff, Jewish history recorded a thousand; when, instead of one ritual blood accusation, ten thousand of them were, at the advent of every Eastertide, made the occasion of pillage and massacre of Jews. A time was when, instead of one Dreyfus, hundreds of thousands of Jews were innocently condemned and degraded and exiled to a living hell on earth. No voice was then raised in the defense of the Jew, no pen then moved in advocacy of his cause. The Jew's suffering then was no man's concern.

Far different now. To-day the foremost newspapers of all the world devote column upon column to the branding of the would-be re-inaugurators of the cruel Dark Ages. Heads of Christian churches cry out their indignation. Christian legislators pass their resolutions of protest; Christian mayors of cities, Christian governors of States, aye, even a Christian ex-President of the United States express in ringing sounds their condemnation of outrages against the Jew.

What is all this but an eloquent declaration that justice is not yet dead, that humanity, far from having surrendered its sceptre, rules mightier to-day than ever before, that the cause of right, which mighty Egypt, powerful Babylon, all-conquering Rome could not overthrow, will never be suppressed by the hand of the Russian?

Yet powerful evidences as these protests are of the growth of humanity, the cause that gives rise to them is no less eloquent proof that the devil likewise is not yet dead. Had the devil been dead, the recent holy Easter could never have been converted into a modern St. Bartholomew's Day. Had the devil been dead, The Bessarabetz could never have been suffered by the lynx-eyed censor to incite the rabble to bloodshed and outrage, nor could its publication have continued to this day, under the same bloodhound editor, while the Voschod is suppressed by order of the government for the crime of publishing an account of the massacre of the other paper's instigation. Had the devil been dead, his minions could never have done his work at St. Petersburg, nor could his wickedness have been extenuated in the capital of our own nation by the mouth of the Russian ambassador.

You have read the reason assigned by Count Cassini as cause of the recent massacre, and your blood boiled in the reading of it. What would your feelings have been if, like me, you had traversed, for purposes of study and observation, the very region in which the massacre occurred, and had you with your own eyes seen the facts that give the lie to every statement made by the Russian ambassador? These deliberate falsehoods on the part of an official high in authority would probably have afforded you an insight into the extent of the Jews' suffering in Russia. When a Russian ambassador, in a free land, where the Jews enjoy equal rights, where they are recognized as important factors in the growth and development of the nation, where they have the right to speak, to answer the accuser, to prove the falsity of his charges, dares to give utterance to such an infamous libel, you may well imagine the falsehoods that are charged against the Jew in Russia, where the Jew has not the right to answer his traducers, where the Jew has no recourse to court or free press or public platform to prove his innocence when his accuser is a Russian government official.

We blame the mob for its dastardly attack on the helpless and defenseless, when we should rather blame the inciting power back of it. Back of the Kishineff massacre stand years of Russian tyranny and misrule, years of extortions by Russian tax collectors, years of riotous indulgence on the part of Russian officials at the cost of the Russian peasantry. Back of the Kishineff massacre stands the knowledge at St. Petersburg of the spreading disaffection of the Russian people toward their government, stands the necessity of creating a vent through which the fomenting discontent might expend itself on another than the government. Back of the Kishineff massacre stands the necessity of making the Jew, the traditionally hated of the orthodox church, to serve as the scapegoat, as the innocent sufferer for the sins of the government.

It is the sins of the Russian government and the fanaticism of the Russian church that incited the mob to pillage, rapine and murder, and not the sins of the Russian Jews, as Count Cassini informed The Associated Press. No Russian would ever have dared to lay violent hands on a Jew had not Russia, by endless cruel enactments against the Jew, by denying him the right of citizenship, by excluding him, for the most part, from the public schools, from the professions, from the other higher callings, by denying him the right to choose his own place of habitation, by huddling him within a restricted area, made manifest that the Jew is held to be the outcast and pariah of Russian society, and that the nation's riddance of him is the highest desire of the Russian government and church.

But these are not the reasons Count Cassini assigns for the recent massacre at Kishineff. The Russian Jew is disliked, he says, "because he will not work in the field or engage in agriculture." Oh, the infamy of this charge! Oh, the deviltry of first denying to the Jew the right of owning or renting or cultivating land, even of living in villages, and then charging him with not working in the field or engaging in agriculture! Oh, the cruelty of accusing the Jews of an unwillingness to till the soil when, during my visit to the Jewish agricultural colonies in the Gubernias of Ekaterineslaw and Cherson—the colonies founded by Czar Nicholas, the only Jewish agricultural colonies permitted in all Russia—I myself lived among Russian Jewish peasants, saw them at work, and found their farms, despite the fact that the poorest land had been assigned them, in a far thriftier condition than those of their non-Jewish neighbors! Oh, the cruelty of the charge that the Russian Jew is unwilling to till the soil, when almost in every colony I visited—being taken for a Russian official on account of my long military cape overcoat I chanced to wear—women on their knees, amid their tear-bedewed kisses on my hands, begged me for more land to cultivate, that they might save themselves and their children from starvation!

Oh, the cruelty of that charge, when in the office of the Baron de Hirsch Committee at St. Petersburg I was shown a pile of letters, counting by the thousands, in which Jews from all parts of Russia begged for land to cultivate to keep starvation from their doors!

Oh, the cruelty of the charge that the Russian Jew will not devote himself to agricultural labors, when I, myself, in the year 1894, at the city of St. Petersburg, after a personal conference with its then and now foremost Minister, M. de Witte, petitioned the government of the Czar for permission to settle as farmers upon unoccupied lands of the interior those of the overcrowded Jewish Pale of Settlement, who, for want of room and employment and food, are forced to emigrate to foreign shores. That petition, even though it had the hearty indorsement of the foremost Jews of St. Petersburg, even though it was personally presented by our American Minister, Mr. Andrew D. White, even though the government was promised that Jews of other parts of the world would financially aid these colonies, so that their success might obviate the necessity of Russian Jews either starving in their congested centres at home or being driven by the thousands to other parts of the world for a livelihood—that petition has remained unanswered to this day.

"The Jew prefers to be a money lender," says Count Cassini. "Give the Jew a couple of dollars, and he becomes a banker and money-broker." This charge is in falsity a worthy companion to the one I have already answered. Count Cassini would have the American people believe that the Russian Jew is bristling with wealth, when the truth of the matter is that greater misery and poverty and wretchedness than among the congested Russian Jews can perhaps not be found upon the face of the earth. I have seen much misery in my life. I have been among the reconcentrados during the Cuban war, but not even their misery can be compared with that which I beheld in that living hell in Russia known as the Jewish Pale of Settlement. What better proof of this misery than the wretched condition of these Russian Jews upon their arrival in this country? What better proof of their intense poverty than the millions of dollars that are annually expended by the American Jews upon these fugitives from Russian barbarities before they can be made to be self-supporting? What better proof of the wretchedness and poverty of these Russian Jews than the thousands that annually fall a prey to consumption, by reason of the crowded and starved and overtaxed condition in which they lived and toiled and suffered under Russian cruelty prior to their landing upon our shores?

Are these Russian cruelties against the Jews to continue forever? Is there no remedy? Wholesale emigration has been suggested. It is impossible for all of them to emigrate. There is no people and no land that could cope with such a gigantic problem as that of housing and caring for five millions of people until able to take care of themselves.

There is but one remedy, suggests another, and that is conversion to the Russian Orthodox Christian Church. The

Russian Jew has demonstrated during the hundreds of years of his misery that he can suffer, that he can die, but that he cannot live a lie, that he cannot accept the faith of that people that on a holy Easter morn can enter a church to worship the Prince of Peace, who gave up his life for the sake of peace and good-will toward men, and then hasten forth from their sanctuary into the quarters where live the very brethren of him they have just worshiped, and commit fiendish outrages among them, massacring and butchering men and women, sparing neither the gray-haired nor the infants at their mothers' breasts.

Our distinguished fellow-citizen, the Honorable Andrew D. White, who was Minister to Russia at the time of my visit to St. Petersburg, told me an interesting story that well bears repetition here. It is the custom for Russians to assemble in the streets to greet the Easter dawn with the exclamation "Christ is risen!" and to greet and embrace one another with the same salutation. On one of these mornings the Czar, upon returning to his palace, addressed the sentinel at the entrance with the Easter greeting, "Christ is risen!" Not receiving an answer, the Czar repeated his salutation, upon which the sentinel replied, "Your Majesty, the Messiah has not yet risen!" He was a Jewish soldier. The Czar paused a moment as if about to say something, but held his peace and passed into his palace meditatively. He had recognized the truth of the Jewish soldier's answer—the Messiah had not yet come—the Christ had not yet risen.

When the Christian shall have learned to practice the religion he professes, when he shall love his neighbor as himself, and do to others as he would have others do unto him; when he will give glory to God in the highest by spreading peace and good-will among men, then will the Christ have risen, then will the Messiah have come.

Mayor Joseph E. Nowrey, of Camden, was the next speaker. He said, in part:

I esteem it one of the greatest privileges I have ever enjoyed, in representing the people of Camden, in joining with this municipality to extend our sympathy to victims of the horrible massacre at Kishineff, and to join with them in uttering a protest in order that such a tragedy may never occur again.

We have been admonished by the speakers to be cautious in what we have to say, to voice our protests in a mild manner. This is not my idea of protest. I believe that such protests should be made with vigor and in no uncertain tone. A feeble protest to the Czar of Russia will result in but little benefit. A feeble protest is no protest whatever.

About 200 of the people of Camden came here to enter their protest against this great crime which has been committed in the name of Christianity.

The Christianity of our own beloved country would not for an instant encourage the crime which has been committed against the Russian Jews. It rests with us to exert every honorable means and to use every influence we have at command to induce our government to send such a message to the Czar of all the Russias that we may never again have a recurrence of a crime such as has horrified the civilized world.

We desire, as citizens of a municipality numbering about 80,000 souls, to express to the Czar of Russia the horror we feel at this outrage.

It is our wish that our sympathy be expressed to the relatives and friends of the victims of Kishineff.

Judge Mayer Sulzberger said:

"I appeal for assistance for the thousands of orphans of massacred parents." To these words of Michael Davitt, journalist and statesman, cabled to a great American journal from the scene of carnage, I can add nothing.

But there is something to be done. The dead are buried, the maimed are suffering, the ruined are broken in spirit, the orphans are orphans. Mischief accomplished is remediless, but the causes which produced it may be modified or removed so as to prevent further mischief.

We are met to-night to summon Russia before the bar of civilization. Colossal in territory and in brute force, she can refuse to appear, and if she so refuses, no direct coercion or punishment is possible. She may choose to stand entrenched in might and wrong.

Should that be her attitude, petitions will avail no more than threats, abject servility than boastful hectoring.

There are, however, two Russias—the Russia of officialism and the Russia of conscience—the one represented by the assassins of Kishineff and their spokesmen, and the other by Tolstoi and Gorki. The former has power and wealth, the latter right and justice on its side. The former may repress and persecute, the latter can but suffer and protest. This cry of suffering and of protest we, in common with the whole civilized world, may take up and carry further until it shall become one universal shout of civilization, the shout that forebodes doom to darkness and to crime.

What more can I say? Words are needed rather to soothe than to harrow feelings, to counsel calmness rather than increase excitement.

As regards the Czar of Russia, if his manifestoes in favor of peace and toleration have but a spark of honorable intent, if they be not mere devices of barbarian insincerity, he can roll from off his country the burden of shame which oppresses it. The wretched criminals of Kishineff may well plead that they have been trained by the highest example. A governmental policy which drives people from the places where they were born or have been long established, into strange places over-filled with strugglers, where they must first beg and then starve, is as cruel as Kishineff and more wicked because more deliberate in conception and more colossal in results. Compared to the mortality thus produced, the Kishineff massacre is insignificant.

And yet this is the policy which the head of the Russian State and the head of the Russian Church have for many years allowed to be carried out. What is it possible to expect from wretched criminals when the teachings of such acts are always before them?

And not only its own Jewish subjects has Russia maltreated, but it has refused to permit the Jewish subjects and citizens of other powers to enjoy the right of travel and sojourn which passports assure among all civilized peoples, and in so doing it has forced its barbarous, medieval notions on the Western world.

The passport of the United States of America is not good in Russia unless its owner has, before entering that country, declared his religious faith to a Russian official, and if that faith happens to be the Jewish, the passport is worthless in whole or in part. To reach the Jew, she puts Catholics, *Protestants and all others to the question.*

That civilized governments should retaliate by non-intercourse or by war no one will contend. But we may protest and again protest in favor of human rights as understood by the modern world.

Moreover, we may show resentment at this interference by Russia in our internal affairs, and energetically repudiate her right to interpret or to mutilate the passport stamped with the Great Seal of the United States of America.

And now comes the unspeakable Cassini, who, insolently disregarding the government to which he has been accredited, directly addresses the people of the United States by means of the public press, and even dares to threaten evil results if we speak our minds. When an Ambassador thus waives his official privilege he ought to learn that his presence in this country is considered an offense by many millions of brave men and pure women constituting our American citizenry; that for lust, rapine and murder we have here no apologists and no room for apologists, and that even a Russian grandee may receive a passport that requires him to leave a friendly country instead of sojourning in it, and if Mr. McCormick, our present Ambassador to Russia, yesterday perpetrated the interview this day published, it would be wrong in our government any longer to withdraw his abilities from his private business. A heartless, brainless babbler is no fit representative of the United States.

Let then the message of this meeting go forth in unison with all the voices of civilization. It may be met with insult and contumely, as such messages have been met before. On the other hand, it may somehow and somewhere in Russia touch a responsive chord.

There is a great heart within great Russians, and let us pray that there may be at least a little heart in powerful rulers. Whatever be the immediate result, the hope for humanity and justice must not falter. Against the blood-curdling cruelty of barbarism we invoke the enlightened conscience of civilization. From the wickedness of earthly rulers we reverently appeal to the justice of God who holdeth nations in the hollow of His hand, who heareth the cry of the lowly and taketh note of the oppressor's deeds, who lifteth up principalities and powers and casteth them down.

The last speaker was Professor Hourwich, of Washington, D. C. He made a short address, in which he referred in a sarcastic manner to the interview with Ambassador McCormick, published in The New York Journal, in which the Ambassador said that the Jews in Russia were not making as much noise about the massacre as their co-religionists in America. There was, contended the speaker, a good reason for this " calmness " on the part of the Jews of Russia. They did not dare to make any protest. A memorial service for the dead of Kishineff, which was to have been held in St. Petersburg on May 5, was suppressed by the Government.

The speaker, referring to ex-President Cleveland's speech in New York, brought forward a number of proofs of the Russian Government's responsibility for the acts of its agents.

The last word was spoken by Chairman Warwick, who said that it was to be hoped that the glad message of the meeting would not only carry joy to the Jews sitting in sorrow in their homes in far-away Kishineff, but that it would sound a note of warning in the palaces of St. Petersburg as well.

A sermon on the Kishineff massacre was delivered on June 7, 1903, by Rev. Amos Johnson, at the Cookman Methodist Episcopal Church.

PITTSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

On June 7, during the sessions of the Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Zionists, the local Zionist Societies arranged a mass meeting, presided over by Judge Josiah Cohen, at which, besides addresses explaining the Zionist movement, addresses on Kishineff were made.

In the course of his address, Congressman H. K. Porter said:

> Injustice is cruel, and yet it is one of the weaknesses of humanity. While we condemn it when we stand at a distance and look on, yet often when our prejudices are aroused we are blinded, and ourselves become the guilty ones. Injustice is cruel, and calls forth condemnation on the persecutor and sympathy for the oppressed, whenever seen. The whole world stands aghast at the horrors of Kishineff. Can it be possible that this is the highly lauded twentieth century, and such cruelties be practiced by man on his fellow-man? And the condemnation is no less swift and severe, because we who condemn cannot claim that we have never sinned, and that there are no skeletons in the French army, nor in American communities. But injustice does its deadliest work on those who practice it.

The Rev. John A. Jayne, pastor of the Observatory Hill Christian Church, said, in part:

> This last outrage in Russia has called the attention of the civilized world to the fact that no people on the face of the globe through all the years of history have been so mis-

treated, misused and maligned as have these poor unfortunate people whose only crime is that they are Jews. And, hear me, as I say, if through the martyrdom and suffering of these people on Russian territory, the civilized world is led to realize and know of their suffering and demand of Russia that these things cease, and compel these things to cease, these will not have died in vain.

Slowly through the centuries the world is swinging into the full-orbed light of the Nazarene's gospel of love and brotherhood. Where men were once burned for opinion's sake to-day we are burning opinions for men's sake. The world will yet learn that "he who doeth evil unto his neighbor, unto him shall evil return." There is but one law for Jew and Christian, alien and friend, and that is the law of fraternalism and truth.

I turned the pages of history to see the result of the persecution upon the Jew and its reaction upon the persecutor. I have found that out of every fire of persecution the Jew has emerged, with marks of suffering upon his brow; yes, but with heart and ideal unscathed, chastened in body, but purer in spirit, defeated but not cast down, humiliated but not in despair, and has arisen in spite of it all to a commanding eminence in the world of ethics, politics, literature, art and finance, so that to-day, the one per cent of the world's population that is characterized of Jewish blood and ancestry practically dominates and controls the world. Then when I turn to see the reaction of the persecutions, upon the nations that have authorized them, I learn with Frederick the Great of Germany that to "oppress the Jews has never brought prosperity to any government." Unroll the long scroll of history and point if you can to any one king or any one government that has oppressed the Jew and not paid a fearful penalty.

The anti-Jewish spirit is the spirit of cowardice. It is the spirit of the man defeated in the race, who has not the courage to declare his opponent the victor. It is the plot of the Roman Messala to wrest the laurels from the victorious Ben Hur. And if to-night you want a Christian estimate of the secret of his success it is found in this: "His unswerving loyalty to Almighty God and faithfulness in the improvement of opportunity." The Jew is the world's exemplar of opportunities improved.

The following resolutions were adopted by the convention:

WHEREAS, The recent barbarous outrages in Kishineff and other Russian cities, which have shocked humanity, have again exposed to view the generally weak and defenseless position of the Jewish nation. And,

WHEREAS, These massacres have proved that the continued settlement of the Jewish people in Russia has been, and is, attended with serious and personal danger and unnecessary and futile martyrdom, thus demonstrating the need for action other than that of providing relief after such unfortunate occurrences. And whereas, the tendency of the nations is to prohibit immigration.

Therefore, This convention, reaffirming the Zionist principles, calls upon every Jewish congregation and community throughout the United States, and upon every individual Jew, to give heed to the piteous appeal of our people; and in the common interests of humanity, and the particular necessities of the Jewish people to help end their present plight, by affording the Zionist movement that cordial and financial support which will enable us to achieve the purpose for which it is organized—the resettlement of the Jewish people in Palestine.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

A mass meeting was held at the Bijou Theater, in Richmond, Va., on May 31, 1903. The meeting was attended by sixteen hundred persons, and fifty vice-presidents occupied the stage.

Addresses were made by Henry S. Hutzler, who presided and introduced the speakers: Mayor Taylor, Governor Montague, the Rev. Dr. Evans, rector of Monumental Episcopal Church; Roscoe Nelson, a young lawyer; Professor S. C. Mitchell, of Richmond College; George C. Cabell, Jr., of Norfolk; Rabbi E. N. Calisch, and Lieutenant-Governor Willard. John C. Easley offered the resolutions, which were adopted as follows:

WHEREAS, Authentic accounts have been received of horrible and unprovoked massacres of Jewish people in the city of Kishineff, in the Russian province of Bessarabia; and

WHEREAS, The savage outbursts appear not only to have been unrestrained by the officials, but even to have been connived at by the representatives of the Russian government; and

WHEREAS, These tragedies are so appalling and heartrending as to make civilization stand aghast and humanity to be outraged and stirred to its profoundest depths, be it

Resolved, That we, the citizens of Richmond, Va., irrespective of creed, have heard with intense sorrow and indignation the accounts of the shocking and brutal atrocities that have been committed against the Jews of Kishineff, Russia, by an ignorant and misguided populace.

Resolved, That, as citizens of a republic where freedom sits enthroned and religious liberty is enshrined in the hearts of every true American, we protest against the persecution, the fanatic violence, and the savage shedding of innocent blood. We protest against the spirit of medieval persecution which exists in parts of the Russian Empire, and we denounce these outrages as a stain upon the civilization of the twentieth century.

Resolved, That we sympathize with our fellow-citizens of the Jewish faith in their grief and anxiety because of the undeserved affliction which has befallen their co-religionists in Russia; and

Resolved, That we urge our government at Washington to act in the name of common humanity by sending to the Russian government a remonstrance against these occurrences; that it be made known to that government that the recurrence of these bigoted and tyrannical incidents will place her without the pale of civilized nations.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be printed in the daily papers and a copy sent to the Secretary of State of these United States.

The meeting began with prayer by Dr. John Hannon, pastor of Union Station Methodist Episcopal Church.

Mayor Taylor spoke briefly, saying he was in hearty sympathy with the purposes of the meeting. He presented the chairman, Mr. Hutzler.

Mr. Hutzler's short address succinctly summarized the character of the gathering, its personnel and its purposes. He said:

Mr. Mayor: I thank you. It is, indeed, an honor of no small degree to be of such a representative gathering of men—men of all creeds, men of all opinions, differing upon many subjects, widely divergent upon many questions of the day—yet all united at the altar of liberty; all united to uphold the torch of religious liberty, that glorious torch, which was first lighted in these United States by Virginia; that torch, the divine light from which illumined this God-blessed country of ours to humanity, to power, to glory and to great achievement.

It is meet and proper that here in Richmond, the capital of the Old Dominion, within bowshot of old St. John's Church—the cradle of liberty—we should express sincere sympathy for the unfortunate victims of that fanatical Russian mob in Kishineff, and likewise, our emphatic protest against the murder, the pillage, the mutilation and the outraging of innocent men, women and children.

It might be said that meetings such as this have no effect other than moral. Quite true, but the moral effect of the voice of the American people counts for something, and something that will be heard, and when heard will, if not heeded, be carefully remembered.

As surely as there is a God above us, just so surely are all men His children, all His children are brothers, for hath not one God created us all? Have we not, all, one Father?

> As do the great minds of all creeds, let us recognize the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and voice our sentiments accordingly. Let us give voice to our sympathy; let us condemn the savage, the brutal inhumanity of man to man.

Mr. Hutzler introduced Governor Montague, who touched on the universal brotherhood of man, which the Kishineff massacre had emphasized and which the assemblage before him illustrated. The story of Kishineff was recited, the audience listening with rapt attention. He declared that Russia, by withholding its hand, had committed murder. He referred to the recent imperial ukase guaranteeing religious liberty to the people of the empire, and said: "There we have the declaration of religious freedom with one hand and the persecution of religious freedom with the other. Strange, strange setting loose of antagonisms!"

Dr. Evans dwelt on the power of moral sentiment, declaring it to be the most potent force in the world. The people of the South recognized the fact in the 60's, when we sent men beyond the seas to intercede with the nations. And at an earlier time in American history Benjamin Franklin appealed successfully in behalf of the colonies at the court of Louis of France. He prayed that the force of moral sentiment would prove so powerful that it would not only stay the Russian paw, but would paralyze it, so that it would never fall in cruel religious persecution again.

Roscoe Nelson blamed the Kishineff horror on the spirit of Russian institutions rather than on the people of the empire. The culminating act of cruelty, he proceeded, is the logical outcome of the system of Russian institutions, the history and injustice of which he briefly touched upon.

He argued that the Government had sufficient evidence on which to base a formal protest and inveighed against the immolation of humanity on the altar of international courtesy.

Professor Mitchell, after complimenting the audience on its representative character and its purpose, commented on meetings of this character being held all over the country, and predicted that in consequence of this widespread expression of sentiment, Russia would at least be more circumspect in its attitude towards the Jews. He declared it to be his deliberate judgment that Russia, by its policy of religious persecutions, is committing suicide as a nation. Evidences of approval came from the audience when Dr. Mitchell voiced this belief.

Colonel Cabell assigned two causes for the outbreak, holding the Government responsible:

1. The desire of the administration to divert the minds of the people from the Government. 2. The wish of the Russian debtor to get rid of the Jewish creditor.

He held it to be the duty of the powers to humble the bear in the dust of the soil if the Government stopped its ears and refused to hear the voice of civilization.

Dr. Calisch argued from history to prove that Russia's friendship for this country consisted in the profession of it, and declared that she had used the profession as a cloak to hide sinister motives and as an excuse to plead whenever she is caught in crime. He argued that there could be no identity of interests, no bond of union between that government of despotism and this country of freedom.

Letters regretting that the writers could not be present were read from Leroy E. Brown, on behalf of his brother, Captain J. Thompson Brown; Dr. J. J. Gravatt, Dr. J. B. Hawthorne, and others.

Dr. Hawthorne's letter was as follows:

RICHMOND, VA., May 29, 1903.

HENRY S. HUTZLER, ESQ., Richmond, Va.

Dear Sir: I thank you sincerely for an invitation to be present and speak at a mass meeting of citizens of Richmond on Sunday afternoon next to consider the recent massacre of Jews in the Russian Empire. I deeply regret that physical disability, caused by a protracted spell of rheumatism, will not permit me to accept. Every drop of blood in my liberty-loving heart rises to fever heat when I hear of religious persecution in any nation of the earth. It is the meanest, most hateful and most inexcusable form of despotism. Strange that this massacre should occur in an empire which has recently issued a decree granting religious toleration to all of its subjects. Is this another instance of the double-dealing policy of the Russian government? It is not definitely known that the government is responsible for this outrage, but, if further investigation should prove it to be responsible, it will be the duty of every civilized nation and community of the globe to stigmatize its conduct with every epithet that can give expression to virtuous indignation. In every country where the Jews are permitted to live they are an industrious, self-supporting, law-abiding and patriotic people. Nowhere have they merited such inhuman treatment as they have received from the Russians.

I trust that at the approaching meeting of our citizens resolutions will be passed that will justly characterize this butchery of an unoffending and deserving religious sect, and requesting our government at Washington to solicit the cooperation of foreign governments in endeavoring to secure a more humane and Christian treatment for the Jews of the Russian Empire.

Ardently wishing that your gathering may promote the cause of universal freedom, I am,

Yours with high regard,

J. B. HAWTHORNE.

ROANOKE, VIRGINIA

A meeting of citizens, called by the Mayor, Joel H. Cutchin, passed resolutions condemning the Russian Government for its religious intolerance. Dr. S. Simon was Treasurer, and George Jack, Secretary.

ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

A sermon on the Kishineff massacre was delivered by Rev. Peter Lindsay, at the Presbyterian Church.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

A meeting was held at Shaare Emeth Temple, May 24, 1903, under the auspices of the Young Men's Hebrew Association. Addresses were delivered by Honorable John Schroers, Rabbi M. Spitz, Rabbi Leon Harrison, Rev. Dr. U. W. Boyd, Rev. Father F. J. Coffey, Rabbi A. Rosentreter, and F. W. Lehman, Esq. Wm. Sachs, President of the Young Men's Hebrew Association, presided over the meeting, and made the opening remarks.

The Honorable John Schroers said, in part:

These barbaric atrocities which have taken place in a populous city of 140,000 inhabitants appeal for redress not to the Jews throughout the world, but to the civilized world; not to those professing the religion of the slaughtered, but to those professing the religion of the slaughterers; it is a crime against civilization and Christianity, as well. These crimes have been committed in Christian Russia by a Christian rabble, supported and participated in by Russian officials.

Only a few weeks ago we read with some elation the humane ukase of the Czar, which indicated that a new era was about to dawn upon the Russian Empire. Since then how has that humane and pious rescript been interpreted? New invasions have been made upon the liberties of the Finns; new restrictions have been placed upon all religions not of the orthodox church; movements toward appropriating Manchuria, though temporarily denied, yet sure to be made effectual; lastly, the blood-curdling tragedy of Kishineff.

Whenever Russian horrors reach American ears, we constantly hear about the long-standing friendship between Russia and the United States. The Russia of to-day has nothing in common with the United States, and she would, if she could, caviar our Declaration of Independence out of existence and wipe liberty from the face of the globe. The graphic forecast of her policy by England's greatest diplomatist, Stratford Canning, is verified in our day. Rome of old extended its sway by conquest, but wherever its eagles flew the arts of civilization followed. The Russian bird of prey has no such commission. It turns indeed toward the sun, but the shadow of its wings is blighting and moral desolation closes upon its flight. Let not a false or misplaced gratitude check the humane sympathies of America for the despoiled Finns, the persecuted Christian Stundists, and the oppressed and massacred Jews.

The nations of the world cannot with impunity look silently upon the barbarous outrages that were recently practiced in Russia. Mankind must cry out in protest against all such ferocious onslaughts upon an unoffending people. If there is slavery in any part of the globe, no one is wholly free; and if there are persecutions criminal and fanatical, and wanton destruction of life and property in any part of the world, then no one is safe. Self-preservation alone would dictate a demonstration of disapproval on the part of America, England and other free nations, against the iron hand of the tyrant. These crimes cry out to heaven for redress. Who would have believed it possible, in the twentieth century, in a civilized country—every form of human outrage enacted before the very eyes of army, navy and royalty? Human sight is outraged, human reason fails to account for the unexpected bestiality of human nature. The world's sense of sight is almost dulled—God himself is blasphemed.

* * * * * * *

For years the Russian Government has legislated against the Jews. It has not, of course, ordered or authorized or suggested the butchery of them, but it has administratively oppressed them. It has denied them the common rights enjoyed by all other subjects. It has set upon them the stamp of practical outlawry. It has designated them as an unwelcome element in the empire to be in any case suppressed and, if possible, eliminated. The effect of such a government policy upon the average moujik, and upon the mob of a Russian city, is obvious. It encourages, it even arouses, the savage passions which the uncivilized Russian possesses in common with the Chinaman, the Kurd and the Apache; and it does so no less surely because it has no intention of doing so; and when the mob arises and sees the men and women of wealth and culture and social rank smiling at and applauding its deeds, as they did at Kishineff, there is no wonder that it goes on to the most awful excesses.

Russia's treatment of Finland is also an object lesson not likely to be ignored or forgotten by Scandinavians and Germans, who would fall the next victims to Russian tolerance should that giant autocracy continue its successful aggression against neighboring nations. The prophecy of the first Napoleon that Europe within a century from his time would be either republican or Cossack, has not proved true, but it is much more Cossack—that is, Russian—than it was one hundred years ago, and the fate of Finland is evidence that the Cossack has not changed his nature or his aims.

The Finns cannot hope to struggle against the overwhelming power of Russia, and the latter will undoubtedly carry out its purposes of reducing Finland to the ordinary condition of a Russian province, of suppressing the native tongue in public offices, and in the schools, and of breaking down, as far as possible, the Protestant religion, the great majority of

Finns being members of the Lutheran church. But the ability of Russia to accomplish its heartless and unjust plan of effacing Finland from the map of Europe as a separate nationality does not diminish the monstrous wickedness of the undertaking. The virtual abrogation of Finland's constitution is a breach of faith unequaled in European history since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and it is having the same effect as that infamous decree in driving forth to other countries a multitude of the most valuable subjects of the oppressor.

The following resolutions were adopted:

WHEREAS, The horrible and unprovoked recent massacres of Jewish people in certain parts of Russia are of such a nature as to awaken the sympathy and to arouse the indignation of every humane being; and,

From authentic press reports it appears that the representatives of the Russian Government in authority over the sections where these scenes of barbarism were enacted, failed to give protection to an inoffensive people, and, thereby, aided the inhuman mobs in their murderous deeds, and so became a party to this crime; and,

We, in meeting assembled, being Jewish and Gentile citizens alike, desiring to express our indignation and horror at this terrible outrage against humanity, be it

Resolved, That we, as American citizens, believing that people of every creed are entitled to life, to liberty, and to fair and just treatment, denounce these recent outrages in Russia as a crime against civilized government and a blot upon civilization.

That, in our opinion, the Russian Government, through the acts of its officials in these districts, has become a party to these outrages, and can only partially atone for them through the speedy and severe punishment of all perpetrators and abettors of these atrocities, and,

That we appeal to the Russian Government to initiate and enforce such measures as will prevent the recurrence of these outrages, and will give to its people of every religious belief equal rights and equal responsibilities.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.

A mass meeting was held in the Synagogue on May 30, 1903.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

A mass meeting was held in Temple Emanu-El, San Francisco, on May 19, 1903.

Judge M. C. Sloss presided, and the following vice-presidents occupied seats on the platform:

A. Anspacher, Philip Fabian, Leon Blum, Leon Sloss, I. W. Hellman, Jr., S. W. Heller, Colonel M. H. Hecht, Jacob Stern, Lucius L. Solomons, P. N. Aronson, Benjamin Harris, M. L. Gerstle, Alfred Kutner, J. N. Neustadter, A. Brown, Ben Schloss, J. B. Reinstein, Solomon Reiss, Raphael Weill, Emil Raas, Joseph Naphtaly, Julius Kahn, Juda Newman, S. W. Levy, of San Francisco, and Sol. Kahn, of Oakland.

Jacob Greenebaum, Vice-President of Temple Emanu-El, introduced Chairman Sloss, who called the meeting to order, speaking briefly and to the point. Judge Sloss urged the speakers to be calm and dignified, and not indulge in extremes of language, the prime object of the meeting being to render immediate assistance to the unfortunates of Southern Russia. After a short prayer by Rabbi Friedlander, M. H. Wascerwitz, Acting President of District No. 4, of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, spoke on behalf of his organization. He made an eloquent appeal for moral and material aid for the poverty-stricken Jews of Bessarabia.

Rabbis Nieto, Levy, Myers and Voorsanger all arraigned in no measured terms the criminal and bigoted policy of the Russian Government that looked on with complacent indifference at the massacring of innocent men and women and children, A communication from Mayor Schmitz announcing that a mass meeting had been called for Friday night was read.

Dr. Albert Abrams declared that these great outrages that had been perpetrated in the country of the great White Czar concerned not the Jews alone, but the whole civilized world.

Professor Margolies, of the State University, urged his hearers to keep their heads cool and their purses open.

Dr. A. B. Arnold, formerly of Baltimore and now of San Francisco, quoted from the great Hebrew prophet, " Comfort ye, my people." He declared that the Jewish heart was true to its own and no sacrifice was too great to make.

Lucius L. Solomons elicited much applause when he emphasized the necessity at this time for the Jews of this city, State, country and the entire world to organize into one great federation in order to combat the ever-increasing onslaughts of the anti-Semites.

Dr. Voorsanger read the following resolutions, which were adopted by a rising vote:

The Jewish community of San Francisco in general meeting assembled, desiring to give public expression to the deep sense of indignation that pervades its household at the outrage committed against the Jews of Kishineff, in Bessarabia, herewith publishes a minute of its sentiments as follows:

This community stands for the fullest and most complete identification of the tenets and discipline of its ancestral faith with the high ideals of American citizenship. As Jews, we are taught principles of the broadest humanity; as Americans, we proudly recognize the application of the same principles in the aims and purposes of our civic life, and our national government, pledged, as we are, to the maintenance of such principles in both our national and religious life. Our hearts are filled with unutterable sadness that the beneficent influence of Americanism does not extend to millions of our brethren, still the victims of an arbitrary despotism that recognizes neither freedom of conscience nor the self-governing attributes of a free manhood.

We recognize our obligation to these our brethren. We are deeply moved by their tribulations. This cry of distress has reached us; we respond to their call. Realizing the futility of denouncing a government seemingly impotent to defend the children of its own soil from the fury of maddened mobs, assisted by rapacious officials, a corrupt police and a church that has evidenced its bigotry by the persecution of Roman Catholics, Protestants and Jews, we deposit at the altar of our faith our resolution to uphold the cause of these our brethren, to aid them to the extent of our power, to organize for their relief, to invoke the justice of God and the indignation of humanity until that justice shall triumph and the crime against humanity shall be expiated.

We denounce the persecution as unworthy of the sentiments of religion and humanity. Russia persecutes without discrimination the Jew, the Catholic, the Finn, the Pole, the Doukhobors; all have felt the heavy hand of that unspeakable ferocity of a hierarchy that wishes to save Russia for its peculiar form of faith. We American Jews denounce such outrages as against the laws of God and morality instilled by religion.

God speed the time when the principles of civilization and freedom may take fast hold of the people of Russia, and toleration and justice be established amongst all the inhabitants of that land. And to these our brethren of Kishineff we extend our deepest compassion, praying not for revenge, but for justice; praying, too, that their sorrows may be mitigated by the heartfelt sympathy that will reach them from all parts of the world.

A mass meeting was called by Mayor Eugene E. Schmitz, of San Francisco, May 22, 1903, at the Alhambra Theater.

SIOUX CITY, IOWA

A mass meeting of the people of Sioux City, Iowa, was held at the County Court House, on Thursday, May 21, 1903.

At the request of the meeting, E. W. Caldwell, Mayor of Sioux City, presided. A. L. Fribourg was appointed secretary. The chairman then addressed the meeting, speaking of the dreadful disasters at Martinique and the famine in Finland, stating that those were manifestations of nature for which no persons could be blamed; but that the present outrages in Russia were the result of the deviltry and fiendishness of the Russian people. He thought that the American people owed it to humanity that some protest be made against such inhuman practices.

The call for the meeting was then read, as follows:

> As mayor of Sioux City, I desire hereby to most cordially urge our people to attend the public meeting called to be held at the court house Thursday evening, May 21, at 8 o'clock, for the purpose of expressing our share of America's sympathy for the victims of the terrible oppressions and massacres of Jews in Russia, which are reported in such horrible details in the public newspapers. Other cities have held such meetings, in which some of the most eminent clergymen of all denominations and citizens of all classes have participated. I sincerely hope that the people of Sioux City may be equally responsive. Arrangements will be made for brief addresses, giving information as to the outrages that have been perpetrated, and expressing the necessity for substantial assistance to those who have suffered so much in their homes and property.
>
> E. W. CALDWELL, *Mayor.*
>
> *May 19, 1903.*

Honorable George D. Perkins addressed the meeting, and then offered the following resolution:

WHEREAS, Reports, press dispatches and private communications have reached the people of Sioux City, Iowa, detailing certain alleged outrages claimed to have been recently committed upon the Jews of Kishineff by the Russian people of that city, whereby a large number of men, women and children were killed or injured and unmentionable violence and indignities were committed upon their persons, and their property confiscated or destroyed.

Now, therefore, be it Resolved, By the people of Sioux City, Iowa, in mass meeting assembled, that such excesses and outrages meet with the unqualified condemnation and disapproval of this community; that the barbarous and fiendish treatment accorded the inoffensive and law-abiding Jews of Kishineff is contrary to the dictates of civilization and humanity and a blot upon the progress and advancement of mankind; and that we view with undisguised feelings of resentment and abhorrence the wanton and inexcusable sacrifice and violation of human life which has taken place. And be it further

Resolved, That as citizens of the United States and as civilized human beings, we believe that the Russian government should immediately investigate and fix the responsibility for the frightful wrongs which have been committed; and that the Russian authorities take such prompt measures as will give ample assurance that such brutal and unspeakable lawlessness and inhumanity may never again be repeated.

Dated Sioux City, Iowa, May 21, 1903.

Honorable J. H. Quick thereupon in an address seconded the motion to adopt said resolution.

Honorable John C. Kelly offered an amendment to the resolutions by adding thereto the following:

And be it further Resolved, That it is incumbent upon the government of Russia, in order to exculpate itself from complicity in this and other outrages of similar character, that it shall promptly and adequately punish the offenders without regard to their position in society or government.

The amended resolutions were unanimously carried.

It was then moved, seconded and unanimously carried that a copy of the resolution be forwarded to the Russian Minister of the Interior at St. Petersburg, Russia, and a copy to the Russian Ambassador at Washington, D. C.

The other speakers were Rabbi Eugene Mannheimer, Rev. Father O'Connor of St. Joseph's Catholic Church, Rev. C. R. Shatto of the Congregational Church, and Professor W. R. Stevens of the Sioux City High School.

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

A meeting was held in the First Methodist Episcopal Church, at the call of Mayor Harry Devereaux. Rev. Dr. D. T. Howe presided, and addresses were delivered by Judge J. Otis Humphrey, Rev. T. R. Logan, James A. Rose, Rev. Archibald M. Hall, and Rabbi Traugott.

SPRINGFIELD, OHIO

The National Anti-Mob and Lynch Law Association held a meeting on June 18, 1903, and passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That we extend our sympathy to the Jews who were so brutally mobbed in Russia; and be it further

Resolved, That we do all in our power to discourage mob violence in the United States, as elsewhere.

Resolved, That we deplore the condition of peonage or slavery found to exist in some of our Southern States.

SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

A mass meeting was held at the Wilting, on June 1, 1903, over which Mayor J. B. Kline presided.

The object of the meeting was explained by the Mayor, and regrets were read from Chancellor James

R. Day and Justice P. B. McLennan, who were unable to attend.

Judge Charles Andrews was the first speaker. He told how the entreaties from millions of people in this country might eventually bring about better conditions for the race in Russia. He called attention to the views of Grover Cleveland, which, he said, he endorsed. The Government cannot intervene, he said, but the people possess *one mighty power, the power of public* sentiment, which no government dare disregard. Of the Jews he said:

> They ask of America no favors. They are loyal, industrious and law-abiding. All they want is an equal chance in the great struggle of life. We cannot but admire their strict adherence to the oldest of any religion in the world, and we deeply sympathize with them in the ignominious manner in which their own relatives and friends, their own fellow-countrymen, are being dealt with by their own government.

As for the responsibility for the acts at Kishineff, the speaker said it seemed that the Government of Russia must bear a large share of this, as the whole course of legislation has been one of oppression.

The Rev. Michael Clune represented Bishop Ludden and delivered an address.

Rev. Dr. G. B. Spalding spoke briefly but strongly, voicing the general sentiment of his hearers, and the Rev. E. N. Packard and Dr. Calthrop told of the good qualities of the Hebrew race.

The resolutions drawn by General Bruce and adopted were as follows:

> WHEREAS, Recent occurrences in Russia, the culmination of ages of prejudice and persecution, have shocked the best conscience of humanity everywhere, and specially roused the

amazement and indignation of the American people, it is most proper that through this mass meeting the people of Syracuse should, in behalf of the Jews of this city and in the cause of righteousness, send out a declaration of opinion lest our silence be construed as indifference.

We see in these outrages apparently a governmental acquiescence if not participation in them, thus in either case placing the Russian government in an attitude before the world which centuries ago might have been looked upon by barbarians with some degree of complacency, but which now is repulsive to every sentiment of a civilized age.

We class the Jewish people among the staunchest supporters of civil and religious liberty, entitled to an equal share in the rights, privileges and blessings which the best civilization can bestow, and to full exemption from racial prejudice everywhere. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we do most firmly protest against the spirit which wrought the tragedies in Russia, because (quoting a gifted lover of liberty and justice) we see in them the culmination of the same persecution which for centuries has pursued the Jew. The time has come not to continue but to cease this intolerance and by fair and honorable treatment to make amends, in part, at least, for the monstrous injustice the centuries have inflicted upon the Jew. Neither the thumb-screw nor the rack, the torch nor the sword ever changed a man's religious opinions, and never will. A man's religion is a matter of personal conscience between him and his God.

We protest, too, because we believe in the separation of Church and State; that no religious test should be required of any man to entitle him to the privileges of citizenship; that it is no part of the function of any government to prescribe the manner in which the individual shall worship God.

We protest against the treatment of the Jews in Russia because it violates those fundamental truths asserted in the Declaration of Independence, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and that to secure those rights governments derive their just powers from the governed. We hold these truths not only to be eternal but universal in their application, limited neither by race, nationality, religion, nor climate.

We protest against Russia's injustice and inhumanity, not only under the mandate of the constitutional law of well-ordered governments, but yet more emphatically under the Higher Law.

And lastly, and with all reverence, we protest in the name of the Great Jehovah himself, God alike of Israel and Russia, of Gentile and Jew.

TACOMA, WASHINGTON

At a meeting held in Tacoma, Wash., in June, resolutions were adopted, and forwarded to the President of the United States. Mayor Louis D. Campbell, who called the meeting, presided, and addresses were delivered by Colonel A. E. Joab, Rev. A. H. Barnhisel, Morris Gross, Colonel J. J. Anderson, Ellis Gross, and Arthur E. Bernays. The resolutions follow:

WHEREAS, The civilized world has been horrified by the many brutal outrages perpetrated upon the Jewish race in the Russian Empire, and especially by the barbarous massacre of the Hebrews at Kishineff, and

WHEREAS, Such ruthless and inhuman conduct is utterly repugnant to the ethical teachings of this enlightened age, believing, as we do, that we are our brothers' keepers, and that the suffering of one is the concern of all. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the people of the city of Tacoma, in mass meeting assembled, do express our profoundest sympathies for the unfortunate victims of that appalling tragedy, and our deep sense of abhorrence for such ruthless crimes.

Resolved, That we respectfully ask the President of the United States to use his good offices, in the name of humanity, to prevent the recurrence of similar events; and that Congress and the Administration, at the earliest opportunity, take such steps as may be necessary to enforce a proper recognition of these sentiments.

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution, signed by the

Mayor of this city, be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of State, and, upon the convening of Congress, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA

The following resolutions were drafted and adopted by the Board of Temple Israel, Terre Haute, Ind., on May 28, 1903:

WHEREAS, Authentic reports have come to us of horrible and unprovoked massacres of Jews in a certain part of Russia; massacres, the details of which reveal atrocities unimaginable in a so-called civilized country, in this progressive century.

WHEREAS, There is much reason to believe that the tortures inflicted and the cruelties practiced might have been, in some measure, prevented by a more zealous activity on the part of the soldiers of the Czar.

WHEREAS, We are living in a land which cherishes religious liberty and tolerance as an ideal, and are a part of a people whose humanity is ever scandalized by the revelation of oppression whether it be in the name of a church or state. Be it therefore

Resolved, That not only as Jews, but as men who desire to live and act according to the spirit of American ideals, we call in the name of a common humanity upon the citizens of this community, to add their voices to the cry now going up from communities throughout the land, as a remonstrance in the name of civilization, against the awful occurrences already recited. Be it further

Resolved, That we express our sympathy for the suffering survivors of the terrible massacre and prove our willingness to materially aid them in their extremity, each according to his desire and ability. Be it further

Resolved, That we invite all citizens in this community who believe that simple justice and simple humanity have been outraged in the recent massacre of Russian Jews at Kishineff, and who are able and willing to materially aid the suffering survivors of such oppression, to join with us in our response to the call that is made to humanity.

TEXARKANA, TEXAS

A meeting was held in the Synagogue on May 13, 1903. Addresses were delivered by Rabbi Joseph Bogen, and Miss Jeannette Miriam Goldberg, of Jefferson, Texas.

TOLEDO, OHIO

A meeting of citizens was called by Mayor Samuel M. Jones.

TRENTON, NEW JERSEY

A mass meeting was held in the synagogue of the Congregation of the Brothers of Israel, on June 2, 1903. The meeting was arranged by a Committee consisting of Israel Vine, chairman; Samuel Lavine, Mark Simon, Isaac Goldburg, and Harry Haveson. About five hundred persons were present. The meeting was presided over by Attorney Benjamin Freeman, who introduced the Rev. Charles H. Elder, pastor of Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church.

He said, in part:

We are here to-day to help voice a sentiment against the persecution of the Jews by the Russian Government. Another chamber of horrors has been lifted up in the world at Kishineff, and as the centuries move on they will pause as they say, "Shame! shame!"

A large dark spot has been placed upon the resplendent pages of history, which no human hands can hide.

We would offer such loud protest that it would go beyond the ocean and make the swords be returned to the scabbards never again to be drawn.

The earth has again been drinking the blood of mockery.

The question is greater than a race. Despotism has laid its weaponed hand on the altar of human minds. Even hell itself has been ransacked to find new ideas of cruelty.

We are here to protest against the atrocities because of the age in which they were perpetrated. The gates of progress are wide open, the golden light of education is spreading everywhere; liberty is raising altars in every clime. Christianity touches every soil, religion is given world-wide ground for its seeds.

The brotherhood of the race is being told by the poets, from the pulpits and through the press, and yet Russia stands out as the aspirant for a dark-age idea.

Congressman Lanning was next introduced by Chairman Freeman. He said:

My sympathies are with you as are the sympathies of the whole American people.

The massacre at Kishineff has not only filled with horror the hearts of the people of the whole civilized world, but has filled with the profoundest indignation the individual people of America.

Every man on this round globe has certain rights of which he cannot be properly deprived. They have not been conferred by man, but by the Creator.

The Rev. Alfred W. Wishart, of the Central Baptist Church, was the next speaker.

He said:

I heartily endorse all that has been said and am in sympathy with this movement of to-day. Let me go deeper into the subject than have the two speakers who preceded me. Why does Russia persecute?

There is the brute in all of us—it has been inherited from the days of savagery. The day is coming when we shall get down to the root of this great question. Russians are your enemies and they are to be pitied. Ignorant and slaves to superstition, they have been made corrupt and made cruel. The words that came down from God through Abraham and the apostles lead men to be just, kind, merciful, and active in doing good.

In race prejudice, the iniquities of history have been caused. Cruelty comes out of the heart of the man who has a wrong view of man's duty toward man.

Russia is about where Europe was during the St. Bartholomew massacre. It is a slave to false views of cruel, distant days. We will all welcome the time when the fundamental principles point to love of God and fellow-man. We should put out of our hearts and life all meanness and hatred.

Rabbi Nathan Rosenau was the last speaker, and he confined his remarks to a review of what the other speakers had said.

The following resolution was offered, and passed by the assemblage:

Resolved, That we, the citizens of Trenton, in mass meeting, believe in the fullest freedom of conscience;

Resolved, That we hold in abhorrence any outrage upon manhood because of religious opinion, and in consequence whereof view with alarm the indignities of the recent massacre of the defenseless Jewish people of Kishineff by an ignorant and fanatical populace.

Resolved, That we condemn the Russian authorities, both clerical and political, who made such massacre successful; and

Finally Resolved, That we call upon the Government of the United States, in the name of humanity, to protest against this barbarous assault upon life and liberty, and to demand from the Czar the protection of our fellow-beings against a repetition of the calamity which has aroused the indignation of the civilized world.

On June 2, 1903, the Common Council of the City of Trenton, N. J., passed the following resolution:

WHEREAS, Authenticated reports have reached us of the horrible massacre of Jews by Russians in Kishineff, Russia, coupled with inhuman and fiendish torturing of men, women and children, the wanton destruction of property of Jews and a government restriction of the God-given rights of these people; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Common Council of the City of Trenton denounce the outrage as one for which the Russian government should be brought to account.

Resolved, That we extend our deepest sympathy to the sufferers and that we look with favor on the effort of our fellow-citizens, who in public meeting have started a fund for the alleviation of the wrongs and hardships of their unfortunate brethren.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

A mass meeting was held on June 5, 1903, in the Columbia Theater. About one thousand persons were present.

The meeting was presided over by Honorable James Tanner. Speeches were made by Chairman Tanner, Commissioner H. B. F. Macfarland, Rev. D. J. Stafford, of St. Patrick's Catholic Church; Rev. Teunis S. Hamlin, of the Church of the Covenant; Representative Henry M. Goldfogle, of the Ninth New York Congressional District; Rev. John Van Schaick, Jr., of the Church of Our Father; Rev. Dr. C. Ernest Smith, of St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, and Hon. Simon Wolf.

Mr. Wolf called the meeting to order. Mr. Wolf announced that he was ready to hear nominations for chairman, and Gen. T. S. Hopkins arose and nominated Honorable James Tanner, late Commissioner of Pensions. The nomination was assented to by the audience, and Mr. Tanner took the chair. Mr. Dominick I. Murphy, editor of the New Century, was nominated for secretary by Mr. Barry Bulkley, and elected, and Mr. John Joy Edson was chosen treasurer, being put in nomination by Mr. O. G. Staples. Mr. Tanner announced the national hymn, "America," and at the conclusion of the song made a brief address. He said:

Ladies and Gentlemen: I deeply appreciate the honor of being called upon to preside over the deliberations of such an assemblage as this, representative as it is of the Christian character and the culture of this fair capital of our great nation.

We stand appalled and the heart throbs with horror at the news, which the wires have flashed to us of the outrages perpetrated at Kishineff on an industrious, virtuous, law-abiding people, whose only offense when you come to the last analysis seems to have been that they have, not ostentatiously or offensively, but faithfully, persisted in the worship of the God of their fathers, as those fathers taught them.

The first reports we had were horrible enough, but when we come to the awful details, as furnished after careful investigation by Mr. Michael Davitt and others, we are appalled at the spectacle presented as those incarnate fiends ran unchecked through the streets doing their vile work of rapine, outrage and murder. Neither the venerableness of age, nor the helplessness of infancy moved them to pity. Kill, and spare none, was the cry. I wonder that the wrath of an outraged God did not consume them in their bloody tracks, and I can easily imagine that the cheek of the master of the infernal regions may well have blanched as he pondered upon the chance of maintaining his own supremacy when their lost and damned souls shall go down home.

The heart and conscience of this great city are represented under this roof this afternoon, and I cannot imagine but that we shall voice the unanimous opinion of all our fellow-citizens, present and absent. We meet not as Jew or Gentile, not as Protestant or Catholic, but as American citizens, who have an abiding faith in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

What is the pleasure of the meeting?

Mr. Tanner then introduced Honorable Henry B. F. Macfarland, President of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, who spoke as follows:

There are three hundred thousand people in the District of Columbia, and they have as many different views as the same number of people elsewhere. Indeed, from their superior intelligence, they differ more on most questions than people elsewhere. Therefore, it is difficult to bring them into accord on most questions. But there is one question at least upon which they are as one man. That is that which is brought before us by this representative meeting. They unite with all the right-minded people in the country in condemning the atrocious treatment of the Jews of Bessarabia, and in extending sympathy to the survivors of the massacres. I am not here to do anything more than to add my voice in the expression of that pity and that protest which have gone up to heaven. I am not here to instruct the government. The government is in wise, strong and courageous hands. Its duty will be fully and faithfully done. But I am here to say that the National Capital, truly representing the whole nation in this as in so many things, deplores and condemns what has been done to the chosen people of God by barbarians masquerading as Christians. As a Christian I condemn the hatred of those who are not Christians, all that creed prejudice and all that race prejudice which have led to persecution, and which have at Kishineff stained the twentieth century with bloody reproach. It is true that we have to blush and hang our heads in shame when we think of prejudices in our own country against men and women solely on account of their race or creed, prejudices which have also led to bloody and shameful deeds, but we condemn them as well as those of men beyond the sea. Wherever barbarism in the garb of bigotry, whether of race or religion, persecutes men and women and children, the condemnation of true Christians must fall upon it, with the condemnation of God. Believing as I do that God hath made of one blood all the peoples on the earth, that his Fatherhood makes us all members of the one family, that whatever hurts one hurts all, even though the hurt be inflicted by another of the family, I am bound to believe that all this mysterious prejudice against our brethren and all the murderous deeds that flow from it, must diminish until they finally disappear. Under God we can do much to bring about that better state of things. The greatest human force to that end is enlightened and vigilant public opinion. In the end public opinion rules and the united public opinion of the civilized world is invincible. It will be felt in Russia, as it will be felt in the United States. It is for us here in this meeting to add our share to that public opinion, and to see that it is applied in our own country as well as in Europe.

The next speaker was Rev. Dr. Stafford. He said that man had certain innate, divine rights which no government had the right to interfere with. Such, he cited, was the right to live, the right of his own conscience, and freedom of his mind. "Against the violation of these rights we have come to offer a protest and to utter a prayer. May the time soon come when intolerance, born of ignorance and bigotry, expressed in brutality, shall forever be banished from the world."

Dr. Hamlin spoke next. He declared that race prejudice and religious bigotry had caused more cruelty, bloodshed, and devastation in this world than any other causes. "Both were combined in the deed which we come here to deplore and to condemn. We are somewhat chary of showing our own hands lest the world should see the blood on them of the Chinese, the negro, and the Italian, for which we seem to be unable to make atonement. Such actions are as much detested in America as in Russia, and if I had not lifted my voice when the same thing occurred under the Stars and Stripes, I would not now lift it when it occurred under the Russian banner." He dwelt on the patience of the Jewish race, and held it up for emulation. He paid a tribute to Secretary Hay, saying that, judging from his determination to uphold the good name and honor of the United States, he thought the Secretary surely would do all that could be done in this case. In closing, he said: " We send greeting of sympathy to the sufferers and implore the governments of the world for simple justice."

At this point Mrs. Lounsbury read Joaquin Miller's poem to Russia protesting against the treatment of the Jews.

The next speaker was Representative Henry M. Goldfogle, of New York. He told of the various indignation meetings he had attended, and said that the clergy of all denominations, standing together in protest against the massacre of his race, was the best sermon on the brotherhood of man that had ever been preached. He dwelt on the restrictions which had been laid upon the Hebrews in Russia, and of his visit with Simon Wolf to the President last summer to endeavor to secure protection to Hebrew-American citizens traveling in Russia. " A government which compels a people to live in small towns," said he, " forbids the children to attend school, because their fathers hold a certain faith, which heaps such burdens on a people, cannot push aside the responsibilities for a race prejudice which resulted in the massacre." He advocated the government's instructing our Ambassador to use his office to secure concessions to the Jews.

Rev. Mr. Van Schaick, Jr., said:

I am here as a Christian minister to express all love and honor for the race to which Christ belonged and all sorrow and regret for the crimes that have been committed in His name. Tolstoi was right last week when he said, "My attitude toward the Jews cannot be other than as toward brothers whom I love, not because they are Jews, but because like ourselves and all others they are the children of one God our Father." What priceless treasures of our civilization come from the Jew! St. Peter was a Jew. St. Paul was a Jew. He whom mob violence crucified on Calvary was a Jew. Some of the rarest thinkers of all history, some of the finest poets of all literature, have been Jews. These are not words of eulogy but of justice.

Blame the Russian Government if you choose. The Russian laws are cruel and unfair. But back of this massacre, back of those laws, is the old specter of race prejudice and religious intolerance.

"God hath made of one blood all nations of men," but we don't realize it. Christ taught the "Universal Fatherhood of God and the Universal Brotherhood of Man," but we don't live up to it.

Time was when the church and the synagogue were one—when this bitterness did not exist. The time is coming when the church and the synagogue again will be one, and that will be when we live up to the Golden Rule of Hillel and of Christ.

What can this meeting do? It can send out a protest which will be heard. Standing on the ancient friendship between Russia and America, it can ask for a repeal of the cruel anti-Semitic laws and a reform in governmental methods, so loose as to be criminal.

More than that, it will accomplish its largest good if it makes us realize that the stream of charity and tolerance can rise no higher than its source, and that its source is in the individual human heart. As we come to judge kindly all races of men; as we come to exercise tolerance in matters of creed and faith, so will the entire nation.

As is the individual, so will be the country. As is the country, little by little will be the world.

Let no outrage cause us to lose faith. This spectacle of Catholics and Protestants, Episcopalians and Independents, uniting in this capital city of the country with the Jews for a purpose like this shows that the world moves.

Fifty years ago it would have been impossible. Fifty years hence—for what may we not hope?

Then came the introduction of a set of resolutions by Secretary Murphy, which were unanimously adopted. They are as follows:

Resolved, That the citizens of Washington, D. C., the nation's capital, have heard with intense regret and sorrow the news of the recent outbreak against the Jews of Kishineff, Russia, and the shocking atrocities committed by misguided and ignorant people, resulting in the massacre of many innocent men, women and children, the wounding and maltreatment of hundreds of victims, and the destruction by pillage of a large amount of property.

Resolved, That as citizens of the republic heretofore ever friendly to Russia, we earnestly urge the claim of the Jews resident in the empire to just and impartial treatment and to protection against such terrible outrages as were practiced at Kishineff. We protest against the spirit of persecution, rivaling, if not exceeding, that of the Dark Ages, which has been revived in parts of Russia. In this country the equality of man is recognized, no matter what his race, nationality or creed, and which has assured loyal, patriotic devotion to the land of their birth or adoption. Especially is this true of the Jewish immigrants who have settled in the United States in large numbers and who, as a body of citizens, have become faithful, law-abiding, industrious and peaceable Americans.

Resolved, That we sympathize with our fellow-citizens of Hebrew faith in their grief and indignation because of this affliction of their co-religionists in Russia, and in their zealous and humane efforts for the relief of the people of Kishineff.

Resolved, That the people of the United States should exercise all their influence with the Government of Russia, as the ancient friendship between the two nations should justify, to stay the spirit of persecution, to redress the injuries inflicted, to prevent the recurrence of similar outbreaks—outbreaks which have amazed the civilized world—and to secure, by treaty, the recognition of American citizens of Jewish faith in their right to visit and sojourn, as other American citizens do, in Russia.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the President of the United States and the Secretary of State.

Rev. Mr. Smith was introduced to speak on the resolutions. He said, in part:

There are times in a man's life when anger is not only justifiable but commendable, when a man would not be a man in any true sense of the word unless he did feel angry, very angry, with a strong, deep, overmastering anger.

* * * * * * *

Now, in the wholesale murders of inoffensive men, women and children, murders most foul—murders without a particle of justification, without a cause and without an excuse—Russia has given us great occasion to be angry, with an anger outspoken in its honesty and consuming in its intensity. It really makes very little difference what view we are inclined to take of the Russian Government's actual share in the blood-guiltiness of these infamous massacres. It is not at all necessary to believe the Russian Government instigated them, nor is it necessary either to believe that the officials more immediately guilty were well assured that their superiors would not be too extreme to mark what was done amiss. Indeed, as to Russia's attitude before the murders we should be wasting time on a fruitless inquiry. That probably will never be known. They don't publish these things on the housetops. What we are concerned with and what for our purpose is all we need to know is Russia's conduct since the Kishineff outrages. She has been dumb, silent, voiceless. While the nations of the world have been horror-stricken she has expressed no horror, no mortification, no shame, no penitence. She has given no sign. She has had no word of sympathy for the victims, nor Siberian prisons, or capital punishment for the murderers. She alone is indifferent to the whole question, as indifferent as the stones in her streets or the pines in her forests. Gentlemen, Russia is guilty after the deed because of her conduct since. Silence gives consent. She approves of what has been done. Do we not well, therefore, to be angry, to be righteously indignant, to cry Shame! Shame! in ever-increasing volume and with ever-deepening force.

And who is it who cannot but be angry? Above all men we Christians. These inoffensive people massacred in their own homes were massacred not as aliens in race but as aliens in religion. They suffered as Jews and that by men professedly Christians. This touches us Christians. We feel that the Church of which we are members has been injured, misrepresented, that her fair name has been trailed in the mire. Men of our religion have done a frightful deed and we must disassociate ourselves from them, else shall we become no better than the Turks who from the days of the first dreadful massacre of our Armenian fellow-Christians have expressed no sorrow for the terrible deeds. We must therefore in thought and feeling take our stand beside the remnant that are left and say to their would-be murderers, "Back, back, you strike us: you wrong your religion and cover yourselves with shame and everlasting disgrace by your cruel and murderous conduct."

Aye, and if the last drop of bitterness were wanting to fill up this cup of anger and indignation to the full we have it in the fact that the men attacked were Jews. Surely if there be a community in the world where the Jews ought to be absolutely safe it ought to be a Christian community. Whatever Mohammedans might do, whatever Pagans might do, at least Christians should ever regard the Jewish race as inviolate from outrage and wrong. The founder of the Christian church was a Jew. His apostles were Jews. The Scriptures were written by Jews. We look to Jerusalem as the rock whence we are hewn. Our very religion was the flower of which Judaism was the seed. So taught Christ when he said, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law and the prophets: I am not come to destroy but to fulfil."

The last speaker was the Honorable Simon Wolf. He indorsed all that had been said for his race. He said that the words that had been uttered would be wafted to great Russia. He expressed the confidence that liberality and humaneness would finally reach Russia.

Letters were read from Mr. John E. Herrell, President of the National Capital Bank; Gen. O. O. Howard; Major-General Julius Stahel; Honorable Henry L. West; Rev. Dr. W. E. Parsons, pastor of the Church of the Reformation; Secretary Geo. S. Boutwell; Judge Thomas H. Anderson, of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia; United States Senator L. E. McComas; United States Senator J. B. Foraker; ex-President Grover Cleveland; Honorable Thos. F. Walsh; Honorable Carl Schurz; Honorable Henry B. F. Macfarland; Engineer Commissioner Biddle; Honorable James D. Richardson, of Tennessee; Mrs. Sara A. Spencer, of the Spencerian College; Rev. Dr. Alex. Kent; and General William Birney.

The Washington Branch of the Universal Peace Union, at a meeting held May 17, 1903, adopted a resolution denouncing the massacre at Kishineff.

WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA

The Wheeling Daily News arranged a meeting of citizens to protest against the Kishineff atrocities, which was held at the Grand Opera House, Sunday afternoon, May 24, 1903. The action of the News was endorsed by representative citizens as follows:

> We, citizens of the city of Wheeling, endorse the initiative taken by The Wheeling News, in arranging for a mass meeting of the people of our community for next Sunday afternoon, May 24, at 3 o'clock, in the Grand Opera House, for the purpose of entering the united protest of our people against the unspeakable outrages that have been committed upon the Jewish people in Russia.

> We bespeak for this public meeting a large and representative attendance, and suggest that resolutions be presented and passed, denouncing the Russian government for its worse than indifference, and calling upon President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hay to make such diplomatic representations to Russia as are deemed proper.

This letter of endorsement was signed by the following:

> Andrew T. Sweeney, mayor; Rev. S. T. Westhafer, pastor Fourth St. M. E. Church; Rev. Jacob Brittingham, rector St. Luke's P. E. Church; Rev. Harry Levi, rabbi Jewish Congregation; Frank W. Nesbitt, prosecuting attorney; John C. Lynch, secretary Y. M. C. A.; H. P. McGregor, Henry Baer, Alex. Mitchell, Morris Horkheimer, G. I. Garrison, A. L. White, Bernhard Horkheimer, John H. McClure, Benj. S. Baer, Louis Horkheimer, G. A. Aschman, M. D., W. E. Stone, H. C. Fanzheim, John A. Howard, George Rentsch, John J. P. O'Brien, H. F. Jones, W. P. Campbell, T. S. Riley, Thos. O'Brien, Sr., H. E. Whitaker, Allen Brock, Archie T. Hupp, John Waterhouse, F. Schwertfeger, George E. Stifel, A. L. Meyer, George M. Snook, Hal Speidel, S. G. Smith, George S. Feeny.

Mayor Andrew T. Sweeney presided over the meeting, and the stage was occupied by a large number of citizens who were acting as vice-presidents. The speakers were Congressman B. B. Dovener and Rabbi Harry Levi. Secretary C. W. Bente read telegrams from Governor A. B. White, and Congressmen Dayton, Hughes, and Woodyard.

Congressman Dovener said, in part:

> This meeting is a very solemn thing, and its purpose appeals to the people of free America—to every man, woman and child of the United States as well as to the entire civilized world. To think that in this day and generation of liberty, education and refinement, such a thing as these outrages upon the Jews in Russia was possible! Efforts to relieve the ter-

rible condition of these people appeals especially to us of America, where all are free and equal. And why these outrages should have occurred at the time they did no one can tell. It ought to be inquired into by the civilized nations of the earth. That it was utterly without cause seems to be generally admitted. Steps should be taken to insure that nothing of this kind shall occur again in Russia or elsewhere.

Rabbi Levi said, in part:

And another thing. Count Cassini's criticism of the commercial instincts of the Jew may seem sound to those who know little of Russian conditions and perhaps care less for them. But it proves a flimsy bubble easily burst, to one who knows something of the difference between Russia as it is and Russia as its official representatives would wish us to believe it to be. Count Cassini argues that the Jew is hated in Russia because he will not till the soil. But in Russia the Jew is not allowed to purchase or rent rural property of any kind, and is not permitted to dwell outside the cities. How thus handicapped can the Jew go back to the soil even if he wished to? He is placed behind the bars, and then condemned because he will not come forth and go free. Count Cassini is a good ambassador, but we must not forget it is his business to cover up Russia's faults.

Congressman Dovener introduced and moved the adoption of the following resolutions, which were passed by a rising vote without a dissenting voice:

WHEREAS, News has reached us of a horrible massacre of Jews in Kishineff, a city in Southern Russia, a massacre totally unprovoked, accompanied by atrocities such as we deemed impossible in these days, and resulting in the death of over one hundred, the injury of perhaps one thousand and the destruction of the property of an inoffensive and peaceable people; and

WHEREAS, The Russian officials, instead of taking proper measures to check the outrage, allowed it to pursue its uninterrupted bloody course and apparently approved it, and

WHEREAS, The authorities at St. Petersburg first denied that trouble had occurred, and only when the facts could no longer be concealed confessed part of the truth as to the atrocities; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, citizens of Wheeling believing in the inalienable right of every man "to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and convinced that religious differences offer no justification for discrimination or violence, do hereby express our abhorrence to Russia's attitude toward its Jewish subjects.

Resolved, That we protest against the outrages which Russia permits upon an innocent people.

Resolved, That we denounce the Kishineff horror as a blot upon civilization and an insult to humanity.

Resolved, That we urge upon our government at Washington the necessity of taking such steps as it may deem advisable to bring the protest of our liberty-loving people to the nation of Russia, and that it voice, in no uncertain terms, its disapproval of Russian barbarism, and its insistence that such atrocities as have lately shocked the world be once and for all brought to an end.

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE

A mass meeting was held at the Grand Opera House, on June 1, 1903.

Mayor Fisher opened the meeting by introducing Governor Hunn as chairman. Peter J. Ford was appointed secretary.

In introducing the subject of the meeting, Governor Hunn said it was called for the purpose of protesting against the massacre of the Jews in Russia, and he recommended more school houses and better educational facilities as remedies for the existing evil. Such a state of affairs could only be brought about by fanaticism and ignorance. He said that all of us were interested in free America because we have been raised here. He introduced Bernard Harris, of Philadelphia.

Mr. Harris said that he regarded it as a great honor to be called upon to speak in this important meeting of protest against the oppression of the Jews in Russia. In spite of the fact that Russia has been the bearer of the banner of peace, these persons of a different religion would take the poor, martyred Jew and tell him to accept their religion or die. He spoke in praise of the protection of the American Eagle, and told of the Black Eagle of Russia, which, he said, would pluck out the hearts of those who refused to conform to its rules and regulations, protecting none. He said the Jew would not be annihilated, and that Russia did not seem to know that a volcano was slumbering in her land. The speaker said he had a paper in his pocket written by eye-witnesses of the terrible affair. It had only taken since 1881 to turn the rioters into slayers of innocent women and children, whose only offense was that they were toiling in that narrow space given them by the Russian Government. He said when the United States, which is the representative of everything that is worth living for, makes its protest it would be heard much farther than that of any other country.

Three thousand years ago men and women just redeemed from bondage stood by the burning mountain and received the command from God: "Thou shalt not kill." Since that time the Jews had carried aloft in every country of the world the Ten Commandments. The time had come for the civilized world to tell Russia that such a blot upon civilization could not be longer tolerated.

Judge Gray, who was the next speaker, said:

I have listened as you have with unmixed delight and pleasure to the eloquent words of the gentleman, a man of the Jewish race, who has just taken his seat. He has described to you in words that I can hardly hope to imitate, words of eloquence and power, the conditions in that unhappy corner of the great empire of Russia from which so many of you, my fellow-citizens, have come, and in which so many of your race and blood have died the death of martyrs.

I am here to-night, of course, as one alien to your race, but one who can give you the right hand of an American citizen, and the right hand of Christian fellowship. I am here to speak, not for your race, as the eloquent gentleman who has preceded me has spoken, but I am here to voice what I believe to be the universal sentiment of Christian America, the universal sentiment of American citizenship, throughout the length and breadth of this broad land of ours--sentiments of sympathy for the suffering men, women and children who have survived this horror, sympathy with you who are of their race and blood, and of protest to be uttered by this great nation, of which we are a part, against the horror and the perfidy and the outrage of the whole matter.

Look he who will in apathy, and stifle you who can the sympathies, the hopes and tears. No man or woman bred under the skies that bend over this free country of ours can listen with quiet pulse to the recital of loathsome deeds like those that have been enacted in that far-off corner of the Russian Empire. International proprieties and the restraints of official life, the proper and decent regard that those who represent a great nation in the family of nations must pay to other members, may suppress for a time the official protest of the United States, directed to Russia on account of these appalling outrages. But, thank God, in this free land of ours, no official class, no government, no international proprieties can restrain the expression of the free thought and the free sympathies that well up from American hearts when they hear of outrages so dire and dreadful as those that have been recited in the daily press of the last few days. Speech is free, and the expression of our horror, of our detestation, of these loathsome deeds, cannot and will not be suppressed in this land of ours.

Of all that has come to us in the progress of civilization in the last century, nothing seems to me more striking or more beneficent than the gradual but sure formation of what may now be called an international public opinion. We, living in our communities, dare not violate the well-formed and educated public opinion of those communities. We have a public opinion wider than that, which embraces our whole land, and in the long run, after discussion, after free thought and free speech, there is formed a body of public opinion that is more potent than law, more potent than kings, more potent than Czars. There is now, thanks to the spreading of the light of the civilization of the century just gone and of the one that is just dawning, a public opinion that is taking within its arms the whole civilized world. No one can take exception to its restraints; all must bow to its supremacy in the end, whatever may be the infractions and violations of it here and there and from time to time. And I no more believe that the great ruler of the great empire of Russia can stand up against the public opinion of the civilized world than I believe that you, my fellow-citizens, or that I, can stand up in our individual capacities and outrage the public opinion of the community in which we live. And so, in this meeting, free speech and the expression of the thought of American citizens, and more than all, the expression of the sympathy from the hearts of American citizens, cannot be suppressed. We hope and believe that a body of public opinion will be formed that will waft itself across the estranging seas that no more separate lands but only divide them, and make itself felt in the capital of that great empire under whose dominion these outrages have been committed. And why, of all people of the world, why should not we, in this great America, voice, in our way, our portion of the public opinion that is to govern the world?

To listen to the simple narrative of those terrible outrages—of men and women slain in the streets and by their own doors, children torn from the arms of their mothers and ruthlessly killed in the sight of those who bore them—things like these appeal to the common humanity of the world. Wild beasts would have more pity! Wild beasts would stop at the slaying of the young! And shall we not give voice here, in free America, to our horror, to our condemnation and indignation at the recital of such events, here in the dawning of the 20th century?

Men killed for what? And who? They were Jews; that great race that has justified its existence longer than any other race in the civilized world, that paradox of history—bearing the yoke of the oppression of the Middle Ages, but unsubdued and undestroyed, having its beginning back in that sacred land from which all the religions of the civilized world are drawn; that race which, as the eloquent gentleman who preceded me (Mr. Harris) has told you, received the decalogue which is recognized everywhere as the foundation of the moral law that governs the world. These are the people, peaceable, all acknowledge; sometimes too submissive; industrious, loving, devoted to family—fathers, mothers and children.

For what were they slain? Had they committed a crime? Oh, no. Had they pillaged the property of their neighbors? Oh, no. Had they committed murder? No. For what, then, did they forfeit their lives? They gave up their lives as forfeits to the ignorance, to the fanatical ignorance and zeal, of those who had been fanned into rage and madness by what is called the "anti-Semitic crusade," that is going on in some parts of the world. It is hard to account for, an anomaly; at war with all the teachings and all the principles that underlie our civilization. But the sad fact remains that there is such a propaganda, and these poor people in Kishineff were the victims of it as it was displayed and developed in that remote corner of the world. And we, of this great community of the city of Wilmington, for whom I think I have a right to speak, are here to unite in our expressions of horror and protest against all who have connived at or allowed it. And I believe that this protest from free America will now, as it has before on many occasions, leap over international boundaries, cross the seas that divide us from the old world, and make itself felt—felt as perhaps no physical force could be felt—by the ruler of that great empire. I do not believe, for I cannot find it in my heart to believe, that the ruler of Russia, its Czar, would countenance the horrors that took place in Kishineff if he knew of them. I am going to be charitable enough to him, to think when he learns of these scenes that have been enacted in that remote corner of his empire there will be enough of the milk of human kindness, of common humanity, as well as enough of Christian faith and love in him to discountenance and punish those who were guilty, and to lead him to repeal the laws that have made that thing possible.

That hope may not be fulfilled, but until the contrary is proved, I shall indulge it. I believe that something will come out of the slaughter of these poor innocents in Russia that will be for the betterment of the race and for the betterment of Russia herself. No country can fulfil a high destiny where such things are possible. No country can stand before the civilized world and hold up her head with the pride of an equal member of the family of nations where such things are possible. Why, I am told (and there are those here who can speak with more authority) that these poor Jews in Russia are confined in one corner of the kingdom. They are not citizens or even subjects of the Czar of Russia. It is hard for us in free America to understand that any body of citizens, guilty of no crime, thrifty, God-fearing, charitable, loving, industrious people should not be allowed the liberty of locomotion, but should be told that they must stay in one corner of the kingdom while other subjects roam where they will. But I am told it is the case there. I cannot believe that it will remain so forever. We were told in the paper the other day, I think, perhaps, by Count Cassini, the Russian Ambassador at Washington—not as an apology (for I suppose no man could breathe the free air of America and then stand up and apologize for these atrocities), that the Jews had excited the anger of their neighbors because they would only engage in trade, and would not engage in agriculture. There were no farmers or farm laborers among them. Now I am willing to be corrected if I am wrong, for I wish to speak accurately and exaggerate nothing; but I am told that these poor Jews are not allowed to lease, rent or own land, and yet we are told that they are hated because they do not engage in agriculture. They are not allowed to practice the professions except under certain limitations. They cannot even be poor lawyers without a special permit from the proper authorities. There are better things to be than a lawyer, but a man does not want to be told he cannot be one. I understand that they cannot be tradesmen without a permit. A mechanic cannot depart from the city in which he lives and go to another without special permission, and if he wants to stay in the new town he must have that permit renewed every year. That is as if any of you wanted to go to Philadelphia to engage in business, and you would have to go to Governor Hunn for a permit. And when you had been in Philadelphia a year and wanted to stay, you would have to journey all the way to Dover, and if Governor Hunn happened to be there, of course, he would give you a permit; but if he wasn't there you would have to come again. We laugh at that sort of thing, but over there it must be a most terrible reality. How can they breathe the free air of heaven that God has given to us all when such things exist? How can they call themselves men? How can they look their neighbors in the face and hold their heads up, as men born on free soil have a right to do? But we will have that changed. My brethren, just as sure as God's sun shines in the heavens, this great public opinion of the civilized world is going to reform that and put the Jewish race on its feet, the equal of every other race!

I have felt it a privilege to come here this evening, as an alien to your race and blood, and speak for those to whom I belong, so far as religious creed goes. And let me say that whatever I have been taught in the way of religious faith, I have been taught this fundamental truth that lies at the bottom of the free institutions of this country: That no man was ever born so high, so great, so good that he was entitled to work his will upon any other man! No man is good enough to command me, except as an equal law governing all men commands me. And that every one of you in free America can say; and some day they will be able to say it throughout the civilized world, and the Jews will be allowed to contribute to the civilization of which they are a part tenfold more than they are now contributing. They have been degraded physically, mentally and morally. You cannot degrade a man and get anything good out of him. If they are to be made what their Maker intended them to be, then they must have freedom to develop all the faculties that their God has given them. And if the Czar of Russia wants a contented people; if he wants, in place of these morally, physically and mentally degraded people, which he says the Jews are, a free, industrious people, then I tell him there is one way, and only one way, in which he can bring that about, and that is, strike off the shackles from their limbs, from their minds, from their hearts, and allow them to work out the destiny that God intended. Let them be free, and he will see statesmanship, philosophy, literature, poetry and all the arts flourish among them and adorn his empire as no other race has ever adorned it. Here in America we know what that race is capable of, and what it has given to humanity and contributed to civilization. We would tell him as his friend—tell him as the head of a great country with which we sometimes say we have traditional friendship—that if he wants the Jew to be to him what he is to us, he must make the Jew free, and he will hook that race to him with hooks of steel, unite heart to heart, strengthen his empire, and do glory to his race and to his generation.

Emanuel Furth, of Philadelphia, followed Judge Gray. He said he fancied that to many observers the time of the persecution of his race was not past. He asked the Jewish people to pray for delivery, and assured them that every cloud has its silver lining, and said they should show that they were happy to be in America, and to deserve the freedom which has been bestowed upon them.

Bishop Coleman was the last speaker. Judge Gray offered and Dr. A. E. Frantz seconded the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the citizens of Wilmington have heard with intense sorrow and indignation the news of the recent outbreak against the Jews of Kishineff, Russia, and the shocking atrocities committed by the ignorant, brutal and misguided populace resulting in the massacre of many men, women and children, and the wounding and maltreatment of hundreds of victims.

Resolved, That as citizens of a Republic friendly to Russia, we earnestly urge the claim of the Jews resident in the empire to just and impartial treatment and to protection against such outrages as the Kishineff massacre. We protest against the spirit of the medieval persecution which has been revived in parts of Russia. In this century the recognition of the equality of all men before the law—whatever their race or creed—is a principle which in practice assures their loyal devotion to the land of their birth or adoption. This is eminently true of the Jewish immigrants from Russia, who have settled in the United States in large numbers, and who, as a body, have become industrious, thrifty, faithful, and law-abiding citizens.

Resolved, That we sympathize with our fellow-citizens of the Hebrew faith in their grief and anxiety, because of this affliction of their co-religionists in Russia and in their energetic efforts for the relief of the people of Kishineff.

Resolved, That the people of the United States should exercise such influence with the government of Russia as the ancient and unbroken friendship between the two nations may justify to stay the spirit of persecution, to redress the injustice inflicted upon the Jews of Kishineff, and to prevent the recurrence of outbreaks such as have amazed the civilized world.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be given to the press, and transmitted to the President and Secretary of State at Washington.

At a meeting of the Union Republican Committee of New Castle county, on June 1, 1903, Mr. G. W. Roberts offered preamble and resolutions of sympathy with the Hebrews who were holding a meeting at the Opera House, at the same time.

The following committee was appointed to carry the resolutions to the meeting at the Opera House, viz.: Messrs. Roberts, Horrigan, and Robertson.

The Ladies' Bikur Cholim Society held a fair and festival on June 7, 1903, at the synagogue in Wilmington for the Kishineff sufferers. Addresses were delivered by Rabbi A. H. Erschler, Philadelphia; Bernard Pockrass, John G. Gray, Howard England, and Mayor-elect Honorable Chas. D. Bird.

WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

A mass meeting was held on June 3, 1903, in Mechanics Hall, Worcester, Mass. More than a thousand persons were present.

The first speaker of the evening was the chairman of the committee having the meeting in charge, Maurice L. Katz, who offered resolutions, which were adopted and are to be sent to Secretary of State Hay.

Letters were read from many well-known men, including Senator George F. Hoar, Congressman Goldfogle, of New York, Rev. O. C. Bailey, of Worcester; President G. Stanley Hall, of Clark University; Rev. J. Munroe Van Horn, pastor of Main Street Church of Christ, and Rev. Bernard S. Conaty.

Besides Maurice L. Katz, representing the Hebrew population of the city, the speakers were: Mayor Edward F. Fletcher, Congressman John R. Thayer, Rev. James Boyd Brady, District Attorney Rockwood Hoar, Rt. Rev. Mgr. Thomas Griffin, pastor of St. John's Church; Professor Alexander F. Chamberlain, of Clark University; Rev. Arthur L. Weatherly, pastor of South Unitarian Church, and Rev. Willard Scott, pastor of Piedmont Church.

Mr. Katz made a short address, and then read the following letter from Senator George F. Hoar:

WORCESTER, May 29, 1903.

My dear sir: It will not be in my power to accept the invitation with which you honor me, to attend the mass meeting in the interest of Hebrew sufferers in Russia.

You will readily see that the influence of the United States, which has been sometimes very powerful heretofore in inducing foreign countries to treat their oppressed subjects with humanity, is likely to be impaired if members of the Government, especially of the senate, which has a large share in the diplomatic power of the government; make earnest and impassioned attacks on those governments.

I have had no opportunity, of course, to make full investigation. I do not know what Russia may have said to our government on the subject in the confidence of diplomatic communication. So I do not wish to say anything which can be considered as an unkindness, or might embarrass our administration, if it sees fit to make any representation on the subject.

But neither these considerations nor any other should prevent American citizens from expressing their strong sympathy with humanity wherever it is found desolate and oppressed. The dealing of Christians with the Hebrew race, a race to whom the world has owed so much both in ancient and modern times, is the strongest single argument against Christianity. Our own country has not been guiltless, and is not guiltless to-day, in the matter of trampling upon the rights which belong to all humanity.

The friends of humanity must stand together in resisting and denouncing oppression, whether the oppressed be Catholic or Protestant or Jew or Gentile or Oriental or American or Filipino or negro.

I think you may be sure that everything that our government can do in behalf of the oppressed Hebrews, it will do. I am, with high regard, faithfully yours,

GEORGE F. HOAR.

MAURICE L. KATZ, ESQ., Chairman Committee Hebrew Citizens, Worcester.

Mr. Katz then read a letter from Congressman H. M. Goldfogle, as follows:

Sir: NEW YORK, June 2, 1903.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your kind invitation to attend the mass meeting to be held at Mechanics hall, in Worcester, Massachusetts, on Wednesday evening, to protest against the recent outrages committed upon the Jews in Kishineff, and for the relief of the unfortunate sufferers there, and I regret exceedingly my inability to attend owing to an important engagement made before your invitation reached me.

The barbarous persecution and the horrifying cruelties to which the Jews have been subjected in Russia, solely because of their religious faith, merit and certainly receive the unqualified and severe condemnation of every fair-minded American, regardless of creed.

The civilized world stands aghast at the fiendish treatment of the Jews in Russia, against whom the malignant shafts of bigotry and race hatred and intolerance have been directed for centuries past; but what is to be marveled at is, that in this age of professed enlightenment and civilization, any people should be subjected to the frightful atrocities which recently were committed at Kishineff upon defenseless men, women and children, simply because they differed from their persecutors in religious faith.

It is indeed highly gratifying to find that here, in our God-blessed country, all our citizens in common have raised their voices in earnest protestation against the persecutions in Russia, and have by their generous and liberal contributions for the relief of the distressed made manifest their hearty sympathy for the unfortunate, the oppressed and the downtrodden.

Such powerful protests as recently have come forth from every section of this republic, from the lips and pens of every class of our fellow-citizens, intensely emphasize how strongly America stands for the equality of man, and for those high principles of civil and religious liberty and broad tolerance upon which our government rests.

In the hope that your meeting may be successful, and again expressing my regrets at my enforced absence from your meeting, I am, Very truly yours,

H. M. GOLDFOGLE, M. C.

MAURICE L. KATZ, Chairman Mass Meeting, Worcester, Mass.

A letter from Rev. O. C. Bailey, pastor of Memorial Church, followed.

Mayor Fletcher was then introduced. He said, in part:

Who is responsible for the Kishineff massacre? There is but one answer in the hearts of each and every person present to-night. It is the Russian government itself. Why? Because it has discriminated against this class of its subjects, denying them the rights accorded to all others; permitting its clergy to denounce them, and by so doing exciting religious feeling against the poor Hebrew; and it also failed to check newspaper incitement to violence which it had full power to do.

The department of press censorship which is under the control of the minister of the interior, and which sends to the Russian press almost daily circulars of instruction with regard to matters that may or may not be discussed, allowed The Bessarabetz to publish day after day for months, articles filled with the bitterest abuse of Jews and the Jewish faith, and by so doing to excite religious bigotry and class hatred by every means they possessed.

The Russian peasants, poor and ignorant as they are, felt as though they were carrying out the policy of the government in committing any manner of crimes and depredation against the poor Jewish people. These riots are not new in southwestern Russia. They have existed for years, but means are taken to suppress the notoriety of the same.

Congressman John R. Thayer was the next speaker. Mr. Thayer said, in part:

I hope it will be found that the Czar of Russia had no knowledge of this thing. I hope and trust that his officials had nothing to do with it. But I remember that a Hebrew traveling from the United States to Russia, whether he be a citizen of the United States or not, does not have the right to use his citizenship as would I or my friend the mayor, if we behave ourselves as well there as we are supposed to here. A passport in the hands of a Hebrew who intends to travel through Russia, has limitations. He must swear that he is a Hebrew, and is not exactly safe.

There are many here who think that congress is not doing anything in this matter, but it is. I will read for you the resolution passed a short time ago, calling for an investigation by the secretary of state as to the conditions existing regarding passports. But for the present, the old system holds.

It is the same on this occasion. You may depend, fellow-citizens, that the United States congress will take the proper steps in this matter when the time comes, and they will be taken in the proper way.

Rev. James Boyd Brady, pastor of Grace Church, was the next speaker. Rev. Mr. Brady said, in part:

We are here to protest. And, for one, in the time-honored memorable name of all the ancient holy Hebrews have done for the world, I protest.

Aye, in the name of more recent Hebrews also. In the name of Gambetta, that tireless Jew, who more than any other man helped to construct the French republic, after the Germans had whipped out its imperial conceits, I protest.

In the name of the Jewish Lasker, that most polished and powerful leader of the Prussian parliament, the only man for whom Bismarck ever evinced reverential respect, I protest.

In the name of Benjamin Disraeli, earl of Beaconsfield, who, on being taunted in England's parliament with being a Jew, replied:—

Yes, I am a Jew, but let me remind the honorable gentleman, that when his ancestors were savages on the banks of the Thames, mine were princes in Solomon's temple, I protest.

* * * * * * * * * * *

In the name of the Hebrew, Moses Montefiore, who for his beautiful and bountiful benevolences has received the homage and gratitude of the civilized world, I protest. In the name of Baron Hirsch, the Hebrew, patriot and philanthropist, who gave fifteen million dollars for the relief of suffering men, women and children, I protest.

Aye, more, and above all, in the name of Jesus, that greatest of all Jews, who has given us our civilization, commercial supremacy, artistic splendor, and national grandeur, I protest. In the name of Jesus, that most magnificent Jew, who gave us our happy homes, our culturing colleges, our inspiring churches, our national privileges, our fair humanities, I protest.

In the name of Jesus, that most divine Jew, who gives us our highest ideals of human brotherhood, of heavenly hope, of triumphant faith, of noblest courage, of gracious manhood, of splendid womanhood, of princely virtues, of superb self-sacrifice, of universal love, and imperial joy, I protest.

For I hear his voice still sounding down the centuries over all races of mankind, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.

District Attorney Rockwood Hoar then spoke, and said, in part:

I come here to join with you and add my protest to yours. Your voice is our voice, and our voice means the voice of humanity, not of Hebrew, not Christian, but of all. As men, we protest against the atrocities. Your protest is my protest, it shall sink deep into the hearts of those at home, in Worcester, and it shall be heard in farthest Russia, let us hope, where light seems darkness, and barbarism reigns.

In closing, I can only say, may the people who perpetrated these outrages, who murdered the women and children without defense, may they meet with their just deserts, and may they feel the power of the Most High.

Rt. Rev. Mgr. Thomas Griffin then spoke:

Being an Irishman born, and an American since my early days, I remember the great Irish patriot O'Connell. Perhaps he did have differences with Disraeli in the English parliament, but when Disraeli was taunted with being a Hebrew, it was O'Connell who stood by him, and would not take money from the government that shed the blood of his fellow-beings.

We are all of us made in the image and likeness of God, and I shake hands with you my brethren, as a brother, as one who has in him the same life blood from which we all originated. The commandments that God gave as the most important are, first, thou shalt love the Lord thy God, and second, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. That is the foundation of good and is what distinguishes the likeness between us.

A letter from G. Stanley Hall, President of Clark University, was then read. It is:

June 3, 1903.

To MAURICE L. KATZ, Chairman.

My dear sir: I regret to be suddenly prevented from being present to-night, to express by word of mouth the resentment which the civilized world feels at the foulest blot in the history of the new century thus far. In no land can this righteous indignation be stronger than here, where the guarantee of life, as well as liberty and the pursuit of happiness, is the cornerstone upon which rests everything that makes American institutions dear to all patriotic hearts.

Nowhere have the old race prejudices been so far outgrown, or the Jews themselves made such progress and attained such influence, not only in the world of business, but in society and culture.

The long story of the massacres of Christians in Turkey enables us to enter with the heartiest sympathy into the sentiments which Jews throughout the world must feel for the atrocities practiced upon their co-religionists in Russia, and this should be a new bond between Jew and Christian, as we here unite to condemn intolerance, whether of religion or race.

Turkey is an anachronism in modern history, and in a sense out of place in Europe. Russia, autocratic as she is, cherishes western aspirations and is proud of her recent progress. In all fairness we ought to assume, till the contrary is proven, that the massacre at Kishineff is the outcome of ignorant and popular fury, not only unauthorized, but condemned by the government, just as we have hoped, almost against hope, that the Armenian massacres were, at least, unauthorized by the Porte and his advisers.

If this is so, the moral of Kishineff is popular education, which alone can be trusted to bring races into close and friendly contact and teach them mutual respect.

If the tidal wave of condemnation which sweeps eastward can compel Russia to yield to public opinion of the world and give to all its millions of children educational opportunities that this century demands, then, perhaps, as the blood of the Christian martyrs has been the seed of the church, so these victims may open the doors to a life of larger freedom, sympathy and humanity which Russia so needs and which only education can give. I am, faithfully yours,

G. STANLEY HALL.

The following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, that the citizens of Worcester, having heard of the terrible and savage atrocities committed upon the defenseless Jews of Kishineff, Russia, in mass meeting assembled, do in one voice of indignation cry out at the shocking, brutal and misguided actions of the Russians, and protest against the barbarism of a government that allows such actions on the part of its citizens in this enlightened 20th century.

Resolved, that we sympathize with our fellow-citizens of the Hebrew faith in their grief and anxiety, because of this affliction of their co-religionists in Russia, and their energetic efforts for the relief of the people of Kishineff.

Resolved, that as citizens of this grand republic of the United States, the exponent of all that is noble, the grandest example of freedom and liberty, we respectfully request our government to protest against the inhuman outrages against life, liberty and property, and to exercise such influence with the government of Russia as the friendly feeling between both nations may allow; so that in the future no repetition of the terrible calamity at Kishineff be heard of.

Those who occupied seats on the platform were:

Dr. M. G. Overlock, Frank L. Dean, Rev. Eliot White, Francis A. Harrington, B. W. Potter, Edwin P. Crerie, J. Cantor, E. Cashdan, Rev. M. Kaplan, Rev. John Metcalfe, Thomas J. Higgins, O. H. Conlin, W. H. Bartlett, J. H. Walker, W. A. Lytle, John B. Ratigan, David Manning, Richard Mooney, Samuel S. Green, E. H. Towne, David A. Matthews, J. F. Bigelow, S. Hamilton Coe, Norman B. Parsons, Wesley Merritt, Rufus B. Fowler, George H. Haynes, Rev. Arthur St. James, Frank B. Hall, J. W. Mara, Edward G. Goodwin, Leonard J. Zisman, Providence; Simon G. Friedman, Edward D. Cunningham, Stephen Salisbury, Lyman A. Ely, M. J. McCafferty, Rev. Arthur S. Burrows, B. H. McMahon, Levi White, Jacob Lewis, Rabbi Herman Silver, W. W. Lundelin, John L. Lynch, G. Alfred Busby, Max Feiga, and Philip J. O'Connell.

YONKERS, NEW YORK

A mass meeting to protest against the Kishineff occurrence was held on May 19, 1903, at Teutonia Hall. Max Cohen acted as temporary chairman, and he introduced Mayor M. J. Walsh as the permanent chairman of the evening. The Mayor said, in part:

> When I assumed the duties of the position in the city government which I now have the honor to occupy, it was with the solemn feeling that in all my official, or even semi-official relations and dealings with the people I would utterly ignore all feelings and considerations of race or creed distinction. It was in this spirit that I issued the call for this meeting; it is in this spirit that I have attempted to act as the mouthpiece of the men and women of this community; it is in this spirit that I have endeavored to bridge the thousands of miles that separate us from those wretched survivors in Kishineff,

to stretch out to them the hand of human brotherhood, to offer them the solace and consolation of sincerest sympathy and to extend to them the hope that the time is drawing near when, like our free America, there will be a free world, wherein all men can pursue their avocations, live their lives, and follow their religious belief, unmolested by hatred, bigotry and persecution.

Mr. E. J. Renahan read letters of regret from Rev. Dr. E. S. Alderman, Rev. J. M. Bruce, Thos. Ewing, Jr., Very Rev. Dean Lings, Hon. N. P. Otis, Hon. Leslie Sutherland, F. A. Winslow, Colonel Fisher A. Baker, Chas. R. Otis, John C. Havemeyer, Wm. H. Doty, Alex. S. Cochran, Francis P. Treanor, E. L. Peene, S. T. Hubbard, Chas. Henry Butler, Goodwin Brown, James M. Hunt, and Moses Williams.

The letter of Dean Lings, who was to have been one of the speakers, was as follows:

YONKERS, N. Y., May 28, 1903.

Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I regret that I have to take this way in joining with you in expressing detestation for the horrible atrocities perpetrated on the poor Jews of Kishineff, by Russian cruelty.

I thank the Mayor for giving the citizens of Yonkers an opportunity to come together and uniting in expressing their feelings of abhorrence and their sympathy for the sufferers. It is an honor to all who take part in this meeting. We are Americans, and we insist that humanity shall be practiced towards everybody; that the time has long since passed when any nation shall stain its hands and its fame by shedding innocent blood. We are all honored, I say, by participating in this protest, because it shows that we have a heart and feeling for our fellow-man, which is one of the traits of highest civilization; and America stands pledged to this kind of civilization.

A. A. LINGS.

Rev. J. J. Fullam, assistant rector of St. Mary's Church, said, in part:

I hold it to be fitting and becoming that I, a priest and a representative of the Christian religion, should occupy this platform of protest this evening and help to swell with my voice the resounding cry of indignation that is arising from this fair land of ours in condemnation of these barbarous outrages.

Addresses were also delivered by Judge William C. Kellogg and the Rev. Jas. E. Freeman.

The following resolutions were offered by Alderman Coyne, and adopted:

WHEREAS, the citizens of Yonkers, like the citizens of all civilized communities, have been shocked and horrified by the awful atrocities committed by the brutal mob upon the defenseless Jews of Kishineff, Russia; and

WHEREAS, the law-abiding sense of the community has been aroused to resentment against the local and provincial authorities at Kishineff, who for three days allowed the rioters to pursue their course of murder and destruction, without lifting a finger to stay the barbarous work of the mob; therefore be it

Resolved, that the citizens of Yonkers, in meeting assembled this 28th day of May, 1903, at Teutonia Hall, express their sense of horror at the terrible crimes committed; their indignation against the supine inactivity of the officials; their sincere and heartfelt sympathy with the sufferings of those who survive; and be it further

Resolved, that it is the sense of this meeting that such representations should be made as may secure to the Jews in Russia more perfect protection for life, person and property; and be it further

Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the State Department at Washington.

Among those who occupied the platform seats were: Rev. Dr. David Cole, Rev. F. W. Cutler, Rev. Charles

E. Allison, Rev. Dr. James T. Bixby, former Mayor John G. Peene, Assemblyman J. J. Sloane, Commissioner S. L. Cooper, Captain Fred. H. Woodruff, City Attorney I. J. Beaudrias, City Treasurer George Vanderlyn, City Clerk Joseph F. O'Brien, Tax Receiver Jas. T. Lenon, President of the Council John J. Loehr, Aldermen John H. Southwick, John H. Coyne, William G. Shrive, John T. Geary, E. J. Earl, P. J. Curran, D. F. Valentine, C. W. Clark, Supervisors E. A. Forsyth, T. F. Browne, P. J. Whalen, J. Frank Curran, Police Commissioners Alfred Fox, A. A. Schaeffer, School Commissioners Charles H. Fancher, Valentine Brown, Frederick R. Burton, Ethelbert Belknap, Health Commissioner M. F. Mulrooney, Buildings Inspector Brady, Charities Commissioner James J. Fleming, Frank E. Xavier, Wm. Welsh, Rev. C. L. Walsworth, Rev. H. Booker, Rev. J. T. Gaskell, and Rev. J. Lewis Hartsock.

PART SECOND

EDITORIAL ARTICLES

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ALTOONA, PENNSYLVANIA

[Times, Altoona, Pa., June 1, 1903]

CLEVELAND ON JEWISH HORROR

The speech which Mr. Cleveland delivered at the meeting in New York to protest against the massacre of Hebrews at Kishineff, says The Philadelphia Bulletin is creditable alike to his humane instincts and his common sense. The language of abhorrence and condemnation in which he described that crime against humanity expresses rightly the feelings of the American people. In giving vent to such horror and indignation he did not think that there were words too strong for characterizing the foulness and barbarity of the deed or pointing out the justice of inflicting swift and condign punishment upon its perpetrators.

Mr. Cleveland's experience as the head of government of the United States has taught him, however, the value of exercising a conservative spirit on such occasions. He, therefore, suggests that it will be well before we accuse the Russian government of guilty complicity in the massacre to wait until the facts on that point are clearly ascertained, and he shows that the significance and effect of the moral protest of Americans will not be at all lessened by such caution. In enforcing this admonition, he said:

I do not say that the Russian government may not by sins of omission or commission be justly deserving of our condemnation; but we shall not be satisfied to assume this, when we remember that we ourselves have found it impossible to prevent mob violence and murderous assaults in Wyoming and on the Italians in Louisiana. I am distinctly and unequivocally in favor of informing our government in unmistakable terms of our indignant and deep condemnation of the late outrages upon the Jews in Russia, but I hope that in obedience to the dictates of American conservatism and moderation, which are never long obscured, we may be even now just and fair, and that we will be content to forego perplexing and extreme demands upon our government for violent action.

The gist of Mr. Cleveland's advice seems to have been embodied in the resolutions which the meeting adopted and which declare that "the people of the United States should exercise such influence with the government of Russia as the ancient and unbroken friendship between the two countries may justify to stay the spirit of persecution, and to redress the injuries inflicted upon the Jews of Kishineff." In making such a declaration all Americans who abominate the prejudices and the hates of caste and creed and race can join hands on the broad general ground of humanity, yet mindful of the crimes of similar kind which have been committed in this country, and which our own government has been powerless to put down.

ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

[*Citizen, Asheville, N. C., May 20, 1903*]

MURDER OF JEWS IN RUSSIA

The appeal that the Hebrews throughout the country are making in behalf of the victims of the anti-Jewish outrages in Russia should find a generous response.

That response must not be circumscribed by denominational lines or limited to race or sect. It must be as wide as humanity, as generous as the circumstances require.

As these outrages were committed by fanatics in the name of Christ, the peacemaker, a civilized and Christian people must do what they can to erase the blot.

Declaring his abhorrence at this massacre that has carried gray hairs and childhood alike to the grave and spared neither sex nor condition, Cardinal Gibbons has expressed a sentiment that every American can endorse:

> Our sense of justice revolts at the thought of persecution for religion's sake; but when persecution is attended with murder and pillage, the brain reels and the heart sickens, and righteous indignation is aroused at the enormity of such

a crime. What a blot upon our civilization is this slaughter of inoffensive men, women and children. Please convey to the meeting my grief for the dead, my sympathy for those made helpless by the murder of their natural protectors, and my sincere hope that this twentieth century will see the end of all such occurrences, and that peace, good-will and brotherly love may prevail on earth.

While a generous people are sending aid to the sufferers, there devolves upon our government also the duty of inviting the great powers of Europe to co-operate on lines of civilization and common humanity and appeal to the Czar, to the end that a more humane policy toward the Jews be adopted throughout his dominions.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

[*Journal, Atlanta, Ga., May 23, 1903*]

TOLSTOI AND THE MASSACRES

A letter from Count Leo Tolstoi, answering a request for his opinion of the Jewish massacre at Kishineff, deserves more than passing comment. The letter has just been made public in this country. Count Tolstoi says in part:

> My relation to the Jews and the terrible Kishineff affair must be clear to everybody interested in my beliefs. My relation to the Jews can only be as that to brothers whom I love not because they are Jews, but because they, and everybody, are the sons of one Father, God. Before knowing all the frightful details, I understood the horror and felt intense pity for the innocent victims of mob savagery, mingled with perplexity at the bestiality of the so-called Christians, and aversion and disgust for the so-called educated people who instigated the mob and sympathized with its deeds. Above all, I was horrified at the real culprit, namely the government, with its foolish, fanatical priesthood and gang of foolish officials. The Kishineff crime was a consequence of preaching lies and violence, which the government carries on with such stubborn energy. The government's relation to the affair is new proof of its rude egotism, hesitating at no atrocity when it is a question of crushing movements regarded as dangerous, and is proof of its complete equanimity, which is like that of the Turkish government toward the Armenian massacres and most horrible atrocities, if only its interests remain untouched.

There are some significant phrases in the above letter. At no time, perhaps, since the beginning of the anti-Jewish outbreaks, has the situation been so tersely and fearlessly described. In half a dozen words the great thinker uncovers the real cause and character of the outrages, and arraigns the Czar's government before the world as responsible for the massacres.

The Journal has been slow to indulge in sweeping denunciations of the Russian government concerning these outrages until a fuller investigation could be had and the blame fixed where it belongs. But now, as each succeeding cablegram tells new details of savage and inhuman violence and shows ever more plainly that the provincial and central authorities permitted and even encouraged these massacres, we think that the time has come when civilized people everywhere, Christians and Jews, should unite in one voice of disapproval against the Czar and his ministers for these shameless crimes.

It is not a few ignorant ruffians in Bessarabia who are on trial today. It is a national government. The criminals who have been hauled before the world's bar of justice are from St. Petersburg as well as from Kishineff. The verdict is made up; and already we hear on every lip the word " Guilty."

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

[*American, Baltimore, Md., May 9, 1903*]

THE RUSSIAN MASSACRES

Details of the massacres in Russia which have reached this country, and which have just been made public by the Central Relief Committee, tell a story of horror and bloodshed which must shock the whole world. The attempts of Russian officials to minimize the affair in Kishineff have failed, and as the true facts come to light they prove that the local governor, if not a direct party to the outrages, made no serious efforts to prevent the carrying out of the plot. Well did he know that the Russian Easter days had been chosen for the massacres, but he took no steps to hold the mobs in check until after they had run riot and the bloody deeds were done. The butchers spared neither women nor children, and their victims were numbered by the hundreds.

Had the Russian government any sincere regret over the murderous outbreak it would have taken immediate steps for the care of the wounded and for the relief of the thousands who were left homeless and in poverty by the work of these fanatics. But the Russian government has done nothing of the kind. It has only given perfunctory expression of regret, and declared that those participating in the attacks will be punished. This policy of inaction, if it does not show absolute sympathy with the murderers, means that such outrages could be repeated without any serious efforts to prevent them. Russia has, therefore, left it to other nations to do the work it has left undone—to supply the needs of these poor sufferers of Kishineff. The United States has taken the lead in this matter, and already several thousands of dollars have been forwarded to Russia. Much more will be needed, as the suffering is widespread.

Russia's Czar desires to be looked upon as a progressive monarch—as one who, above all things, hopes and plans for the peace of the world. Yet he tolerates these brutal attacks upon a portion of his subjects, permitting murder, outrage and plunder and keeping in high official position men who connive at these things. After the deed has been done he gives expression to no regret; seems to regard it as a matter of little moment and of no deep concern to either the present or the future of his land. His predecessors carried on systematic persecution and banishment of these people, but from him had been expected a more humane policy. In this has he failed, and the Easter massacres at Kishineff will always remain a dark blot on the reign of Nicholas II.

[*American, Baltimore, Md., May 14, 1903*]

FOR SYMPATHY AND RELIEF

There should be a large attendance at the meeting to be held at the Academy of Music Sunday afternoon to express sympathy for the Kishineff sufferers and to add to the relief fund now being raised in this country. Meetings of this character, inaugurated by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle,* are being held in many cities, and that in Baltimore should be one of the largest and one of the most liberal of them all. The needs of the sufferers are great, and to be effective the relief must first be prompt, and must then continue until those impoverished by the outrages can be placed in position where they can again earn a livelihood.

Reluctant was Russia to admit that any outrages had been committed, but when the true facts reached the outside world and the full story of the bloody massacre was known, then the Czar's government came out with its ignoble confession, making the pretense that it had been powerless to prevent the wrong. This policy gives no assurance that such occurrences will not be repeated, and even now Russia is carrying out in the most unmerciful manner an edict expelling a large number of these people from its territory. Work of this sort is done in Russia with extreme inhumanity; no regard is paid to age or sex; old and young are driven out like cattle, their property confiscated, and fortunate are they when they escape with their lives. It is absurd for the Czar to pose as the world's peacemaker when he, in his own dominion, not only tolerates, but encourages, such persecution of inoffensive and loyal subjects. He not only throws open to reasonable suspicion all of his pretended efforts for good government, but he insults every principle of humanity, and invites, as he must receive, the condemnation of all who love liberty, hate oppression and hold persecution as a crime.

It is but right that this government should enter a protest against these outrages—a protest that can be indorsed by every liberty-loving nation, a protest that will reach the ears of the Czar and show to him how such massacres are universally condemned. The relief movement in this country also contemplates such a protest, and leading prelates of the Christian faith have given their endorsement to the plan. The meeting in Baltimore Sunday afternoon will give voice to this sentiment, will express sympathy, give relief and call for diplomatic action, in the hope that Russia will make an end to such crimes once and for all.

[*American, Baltimore, Md., May 25, 1903*]

RUSSIA'S RESPONSIBILITY

Civilization moves with halting step in placing responsibility for the Kishineff massacres upon the Russian government—where it rightfully belongs—and in assessing damages for the atrocities. A few years ago, when the Armenian massacres shocked the civilized world, there was no hesitancy among the powers in calling Turkey to account. Within the last few months Russia herself has enacted the farce of trying to put an end to atrocities practiced by emissaries of the Turkish government upon Christians in Macedonia. But the slaughter of the Jews in Russia—outrivaling in bloody hideousness the scenes of carnage in Armenia and Macedonia—calls forth no official protest. The United States has unofficially expressed its horror, and its people have given freely to relieve distress at Kishineff, and to save the Jews there and in other Russian cities from a repetition of the outrages; but no government has yet officially lifted its voice to rebuke Russia.

Are we to believe that Russia is licensed to do what civilization says no inferior nation may practice with impunity? Is it possible that Russia, while keeping up the farce of putting down oppression in Macedonia, is to be permitted to commit murder, pillage and outrage against a portion of her own populace? These are serious questions, and those nations having close communication with the government at St. Petersburg cannot dodge them. They must be taken up and answered, since upon them hinges the very important problem of whether or not Russia is to be permitted to continue within the pale of civilization.

The facts of the case are simple. The massacres, beginning at Kishineff, were wantonly inexcusable and brutal to an unparalleled degree. While they were in progress the strong arm of the Russian government, represented by soldiers in number sufficient to quell the disturbance, was not lifted to save the defenseless Jews. When, after the trouble had reached its climax, official notice was finally taken of it, the government at St. Petersburg set in motion the machinery for the preservation of the law, but acted in such a manner that effective repression of the murderers was impossible. And now the edict goes forth, while the officials take no effective steps to preserve the peace in the empire, that the Jews are not to be permitted to arm themselves for purposes of self-defense. As if this were not enough, the agents of the Czar—ambassadors and diplomats—endeavor to excuse the horror by showing justification, as though anything could justify murder, rapine and pillage on such a brutal and wholesale scale as they were practiced under the eyes of Russian regiments!

These facts—and they are indisputable—prove to the world the actual and moral responsibility of Russia. The government has, by the publication of its records and by its supineness, proved its complicity in the crimes, nor can it hope to evade the penalty therefor. The fact of the matter is that at St. Petersburg the slaughter of the Jews was probably welcomed, and is now being encouraged, for the trouble is by no means at an end. The Russian government slumbers over a volcano of whose existence it is well aware. It has so harassed, burdened and oppressed the dense populace that, stupid and subservient as is the Russian peasantry, the spirit of revolution is rife. No man knows the moment when the millions of downtrodden Russians may rise and enact scenes throughout Russia in Europe compared with which the French Revolution will rank as mild and bloodless. The people of Russia are ripe for just such an uprising; their long pent-up suffering is forcing them to that point where blood alone will requite their wrongs. Naturally, this outburst, when it comes—and it will come, because with conditions as they are in Russia it is inevitable—will be directed against the nobles and ruling classes. These classes may, therefore, view the Kishineff horrors with equanimity, since the letting of the blood of the Jews may satisfy the populace for the time being and postpone the coming of that hour which all intelligent Russia, in common with the civilized world, dreads.

But this does not absolve Russia of her responsibility. She is doubly responsible if she has so administered government as to make massacres essential to contentment among her people, and it is high time the civilized nations direct their attention to the matter, and, by such official methods as were employed against Turkey, teach Russia, puissant as she is, the limitations that civilization imposes.

[*American, Baltimore, Md., May 30, 1903*]

RUSSIA AND THE PRESS

That the government at St. Petersburg made at first every effort to suppress the real facts in regard to the massacres at Kishineff is well known to the world. A representative of the United States was misled by this policy, and even after the truth had begun to leak out cabled to his government that the occurrence was not of a serious character, and that reports of it were grossly exaggerated. Not until compelled to do so did the Russian government admit that there had been a massacre, attended with rapine and pillage, but even then it sought to minimize the outbreak, and declared that the sufferers who escaped death were not in need of assistance. It has only been through the reports of relief committees, through letters received from Kishineff and from verbal reports of men who were on the spot and who were fortunate enough to get away alive that the whole truth regarding the bloody tragedy has been made known.

In spite of the defeat of its efforts at concealment Russia continues its policy of suppression, and has now gone so far as to expel from its territory the correspondent of The London Times, who was located at St. Petersburg and who did not hesitate to tell the truth about the matter, though he was very conservative in his statements and kept wholly within range of facts. The Times already shows that it has no intention of allowing this action to pass unnoticed, and will speak in very plain terms to the Czar before the incident is closed. It has already pronounced Russia's action remarkable and unprecedented, and when the real reasons for the expulsion are given will use its powerful influence to bring upon that government the condemnation of the civilized world.

It is assumed that the correspondent was expelled because he declared through The Times that the government, though it had knowledge of plans for the massacre, took no steps to prevent them from being carried out. In one dispatch he said:

> When the outbreak took place the rioters were permitted to go about their work of murder, outrage, and devastation without any interference on the part of the authorities, except in a few instances where the police officers acted without waiting for instructions from their chiefs. In other cases where Jews appealed for protection, they were told that nothing could be done for them. In these circumstances, for the government not to dismiss from his post an official so grossly negligent of his most obvious duty, would have created an impression which no number of ministerial circulars could dissipate. As it is, there is much in the action of the central government which needs explanation. The massacre at Kishineff has shown that the local authorities cannot always be trusted to protect the Jews, yet in a recent circular M. de Plehve has laid it down that Jewish clubs of self-defense are not to be tolerated. That may be defended on general political grounds, but it is hard to find any excuse for the indulgence extended to the anti-Semitic press.

These statements are not only warranted by the facts, but can in no way be construed as an unwarranted attack on the Russian government. It has now been made plain that the plans for the Easter uprisings were known not only to the officials of Bessarabia, but to the higher officials at St. Petersburg. Not till action was demanded from the world outside did the government dismiss from office a governor who could have prevented the murders had he felt so inclined. Russia may be able to muzzle its own press, but not that of the rest of Europe—not that of the United States. Most of the facts have already been published, and soon all will be known. Expulsion of correspondents and other investigators will have accomplished nothing, will not hide Russia's infamy, nor save her from the just retribution which sooner or later must come upon her.

[*American, Baltimore, Md., June 6, 1903*]

RUSSIA AND AMERICA

The government organs in St. Petersburg are making a pretense of surprise at the severe arraignment of Russia by the press of the United States for its conduct in connection with the massacres at Kishineff. These massacres, tolerated, condoned and even encouraged by Russian officials, have been condemned by the whole civilized world, yet the St. Petersburg press refer to them lightly and almost flippantly as mere disorders, with the intimation that Russia cannot be held to blame for them, and that similar outbreaks are likely to occur in any country. Though these wholesale murders, with rapine and pillage, occurred several weeks ago, no effort has been made for the arrest and punishment of the murderers, those who were directly concerned in the horrible crimes. One or two officials have been removed, and that is all. The criminals are unpunished, and thus are encouraged to repeat their crimes, knowing that there is little danger of harm coming to them.

The Russian organs claim that, in view of old-time friendship between the two countries, the press of the United States is in duty bound to withhold all criticism concerning the Kishineff massacres, simply taking it for granted that Russia knows what it is doing and that whatever it does is right. Such a plea is a limit of absurdity. There have long been friendly relations between the two governments, growing out of pleasant incidents in their past history, but neither this government nor the press of this land ever gave or ever could give their approval to the brutal tyranny which has long been a leading characteristic of the Czar's dealing with his subjects. This republic, founded on the equal rights of man, with freedom as its chief cornerstone, would be untrue to itself and false to its basic principles if it gave its endorsement to Russia's policy or kept silent when such crimes as those at Kishineff are committed without government interference or government condemnation. The press of this country did not keep silent when Turkey condoned and encouraged murder; it did not keep silent when Spain persecuted the Cubans; it did not keep silent when Great Britain engaged in an unholy war for the subjugation of the Boers, and it will not keep silent now. Old friendships, cordial relations regarding the little trade and commerce there is between this land and that cannot keep the press and people of the United States from holding up to the world's condemnation any government policy that tolerates such crimes as those of Kishineff.

[*American, Baltimore, Md., June 12, 1903*]

RUSSIA'S DEFIANCE

The government of Russia has, through Count Cassini, the Czar's ambassador to the United States, served notice that it will receive no representations regarding the Kishineff incident from any foreign power, and that it must decline any offers of outside aid for those who suffered at the hands of religious fanatics. This does not mean that it will prevent the distribution of the funds raised in this country at public meetings and by private subscription, when such distribution is made through agents chosen by those at the head of the relief movement, but it does mean that the Russian government will have nothing to do with such contributions, nor will permit its officials to handle or distribute them. It is doubtless better for those needing the relief that this be so.

The Czar's government bases its action on the plea that it has ample means to relieve suffering wherever it appears in the empire. That it has such means in abundance all will admit, but that it will use any large amount of money for the aid of the Kishineff sufferers is not only improbable, but would be entirely out of keeping with the previous policy of the government in dealing with such occurrences. The latest reports from Bessarabia give no hint of such action, but rather indicate that the Russian officials are doing all in their power to keep the Jews terrorized and make them believe that any who escape with their lives can count themselves fortunate.

The methods Russia is employing to prevent public discussion of the massacre is shown by the action of the governor-general of Warsaw, who issued an order prohibiting a memorial service for the Kishineff victims, warned all public speakers not to mention the affair and ordered all Jewish newspapers to discontinue printing subscription lists for the Kishineff survivors. In keeping with this policy of suppression was the speech of the vice-governor of Bessarabia at the funeral of the victims, in which he said: "Too many of you have come. I have authority to disperse you, but I will be compassionate. Calm yourselves. Forget what has happened. Consider it an expiation of your sins and the sins of your fathers. It is God's will. Bear the trial with resignation."

In these and other ways does the Russian government seek to make the world believe that it was in no way responsible for the massacre, and that a similar outbreak might occur in any country. It has sought to shame the United States by reference to the murders of Italians in New Orleans and by the lynchings of negroes in the South. What have those occurrences, bad as they were, to do with Russia's persistent and brutal persecution of innocent and helpless subjects, of those who have committed no crime, but who have a right to demand the protection of the government of which they are loyal and faithful subjects? Russia sounds a note of defiance to the world. By so doing and by the course it is now following it sets the seal of its approval on rapine, murder and pillage. It sends out notices to the civilized world that it will brook no interference and will do as it sees fit with its own people. And this is the government of the Czar, the ruler who preaches peace but practices infamy!

[*American, Baltimore, Md., June 18, 1903*]

RUSSIA'S BRUTAL POLICY

The attack on Kroushevan by a Jewish student in St. Petersburg will doubtless be used by the Russian government to excuse its policy. Of course it will have no effect outside of Russia, but, unfortunately, that country is a law

unto itself, and it does not matter what is
by other nations. If the latter would unite
there might be another story, but the union
for some good and noble purpose, disconn
fish and material ends, would be a marveloı
will come some time or other, but not now.
Russian authorities will quote the attack up
ble rascal as evidence of the viciousness of t
all that has occurred it is difficult to unders
could keep his hands off this wretch.

He has two Jew-baiting newspapers, one ir
and one in Bessarabia, where the horribl
curred, and he is credited with having don
other agencies combined to cause that foul
tion. Not only this, his papers have a cir
yond the places of publication, and he has th
stir up hatred and persecution in many parts
Nor is this all of his malign activity. He is
agent of M. Plehve, the real Czar of Russia,
a most bitter enemy of the Jew. There are
the technicalities of moral law lose their f
provocation is so terrible that revenge tak
all other considerations, and it is easy to im
a moment occurred when the young Jewish
eyes on this villain. Kishineff was not a
Only five days ago a similar scene was enac
Russia, in which numbers were killed and m
dred Jews were seriously injured.

This occurred after the hypocritical assur
the world by the Czar, and was doubtless a
minister to whom he has intrusted his emp
these millions of people to do? They are not
or under any conditions. There never was a
union between a government and the ignor
fians who compose the majority of its subje
have practically a license to kill or commit
rage. If the Jews would combine and smite
the world would applaud the deed; but th

isolated instances of revenge are useless and dangerous to the cause. They give a handle for the false assertions of the Czar and his ministers. If the Jews are to remain in Russia they must pursue the same peaceful policy which has always characterized them, trusting that time will bring about a change in barbaric opinion. It would be better on all accounts, however, for them to cast the dust of Russia off their feet.

[*Morning Herald, Baltimore, Md., June 6, 1903*]

RUSSIA MAKES COMPLAINT

An article in a Russian publication of note complains of the criticism that is being directed against the empire by the American newspapers on account of the slaughter of Jews at Kishineff, the Manchurian affair and other matters that touch Russian sensibilities.

This country has shown itself friendly to Russia on many occasions, and the feeling has apparently been reciprocated, but American newspapers have not been the only journals that have been outspoken against Russia on account of recent disorders. Newspapers in this country do not hesitate to comment on matters of that kind that take place in any country. There is no censorship of the press in America on any matter, and least of all in reference to one that appeals to humanity as powerfully as the Kishineff disgrace. The press has been outspoken against Russia's treatment of the Finns and our people have sent aid to those unfortunates just as they have done to the Jews. The writer of this article seems to forget that Americans have contributed supplies to Russians who were in want of food on account of famine. If Russia will treat all people within the confines of the empire humanely and fairly, she will hear no criticism from the American press.

It is a mistaken idea to think that the press in this country does not voice the prevailing opinion of the people in the United States.

[*News, Baltimore, Md., May 9, 1903*]

THE KISHINEFF HORROR

In to-day's issue of *Jewish Comment* are gathered together a large number of reports from various sources bearing on the massacre of Jews at Kishineff and the reign of terror that has since prevailed in that Russian town and in the surrounding region. Harrowing particulars of the brutalities committed by the anti-Jewish mob are given in various dispatches, direct and indirect. The condensed statement given out in a cable dispatch from the Actions Committee of the Zionists in Vienna is as follows: "On the occasion of the Russian Easter, a three-day massacre of Jews took place. Over a hundred Jews brutally killed. More than six hundred women, children, old men seriously wounded. Synagogues, houses demolished and plundered. Distress very great. Vienna Actions Committee collecting money." The mention of Easter is a reminder of the origin of the horrible outbreak, the old medieval charge of "ritual murder" which has, for hundreds of years, been made, in one country or another, the basis of murderous attacks upon Jews by people steeped in ignorance and prejudice. Without a shadow of trace of foundation, and long ago declared utterly false by every kind of Christian authority, including the Pope of Rome, this horrible charge against the Jews still emerges from time to time, in the more benighted regions of Europe, and still has power to bring on such frightful results as those now recorded at Kishineff. It is a sad commentary on the distance between promise and performance that a horror like this, of which there seems grave reason to fear the consequences will spread over a large area, should follow so close upon that pronunciamento of the Czar which many hailed as the harbinger of a new era for Russia.

[*News, Baltimore, Md., May 15, 1903*]

THE BESSARABIAN OUTRAGES

The difficulty of getting at the truth as to the atrocities committed on the Jews at Kishineff has been the cause of their not having attracted more of the attention of the world. As time goes on, the appalling character of the crime becomes more and more evident, though it is still impossible to ascertain its extent. An amazing feature of the record in the case is the reply made by the American Ambassador at St. Petersburg, Mr. McCormick, less than a week ago, to an inquiry from the State Department as to the facts concerning the Kishineff outrages. That reply sent three weeks after the catastrophe, and nine days after the inquiry had first been made by the State Department, consisted in an alleged complete denial by the Russian government of the whole occurrence. The very next day, or the next but one, the Russian government gave out an official statement admitting that there had been a massacre, but stating the number of persons killed outright as only forty-five. It is incumbent on the State Department to investigate this peculiar conduct on the part of Ambassador McCormick, and to make a public statement of the result of the investigation. When the diplomatic representative of this country, being called upon by the State Department to furnish information on a suject of critical moment to many thousands of American citizens, sends an answer of which the absurdity is immediately and officially exposed, it becomes the duty of the government to call him sharply to account.

The accounts coming in from many sources are doubtless exaggerated, colored as they naturally are by the excitement, terror and indignation of the moment; but, after making all possible allowance, there remains such a tale of horror as seems not to belong to this century or to a country calling itself civilized. But the worst feature of the story is not the bestial cruelty of the mob, but the indifference—according to some stories, even the encouragement—of the authorities. Kishineff is a large city, the capital of the province of Bessarabia, and there are, of course, plenty of soldiers at the command of the Governor. In no account of the massacre does it appear that there was the slightest effort to prevent the onslaught upon the Jews or the fiendish barbarities which were committed during three successive days; nor is there any sign that any official is to be punished for this terrible indifference to the protection of innocent persons from the horrible cruelties of the mob. Although a proclamation has now been issued to the effect that provincial governors will hereafter be held responsible for similar outbreaks, the apparent immunity of those who were guilty of permitting the horror at Kishineff is calculated to make that proclamation rather ineffective. Stronger measures by the Russian government are needed, and it ought to be made apparent to the Czar that for any spread of the barbarous persecution he and his government will be held responsible by the public opinion of the civilized world. To express this sentiment, as well as to institute a collection in aid of the sufferers, is the object of the public meeting to be held in Baltimore on Sunday afternoon.

[*News, Baltimore, Md., May 18, 1903*]

THE PROTEST AGAINST RUSSIAN PERSECUTION

That was a most remarkable meeting which was held in Baltimore yesterday afternoon to protest against the conditions in Russia which led to the massacre at Kishineff, and to collect contributions for the relief of the sufferers. The Academy of Music was filled by a great audience, whose earnestness and interest were maintained unbroken for three hours. The main speech, that of Honorable J. V. L. Findlay, was a most stirring and eloquent appeal, and every speech made was an utterance worthy of the occasion. The most remarkable effect was produced by a short speech made by Mr. Samuel Wollman, who spoke as a representative of the Russian Jews of Baltimore. He is a young man, a graduate of the Johns Hopkins University, and still a student in the Johns Hopkins Medical School. The picture he drew of the Russian Jew at home, poor and hard-working, with little or no opportunity for culture in the usual sense of the word, but with his mind centred on serious thoughts and with an almost unmatched reverence and love for learning, was one that no one who heard it will forget. The noble letter of Cardinal Gibbons was one of the most impressive features of the meeting. As a whole, the proceedings constituted a protest of such dignity and force as is seldom attained under similar circumstances.

It is well to understand just what it is that makes the occasion for such a movement as is represented in a meeting like that held in Baltimore yesterday, and like those which are being held in many cities throughout the land. It is not the precise degree or extent of the atrocities committed at Kishineff that constitutes a measure of their significance, or that should determine the view taken of them by the civilized world. In some quarters, the warning has been sounded that the horrors at Kishineff are probably "grossly exaggerated" in the reports. That there have been wild statements and exaggerations in the mass of harrowing stories which have come from the afflicted town and its neighborhood is not only probable, but practically certain. There are some things, however, which are certainly not exaggerations. Among these are the statements of the surgeon who treated some of the victims in a Kishineff hospital and whose bald official description of the cruelties to which they had been subjected found its way into a Russian newspaper. As for the mere numerical extent of the outrages, an irreducible minimum is furnished by the tabulation in a circular published by the Russian Minister of the Interior. This summarizes the results as "forty-five killed, seventy-four seriously wounded, three hundred and fifty slightly wounded, seven hundred houses wrecked and plundered, six hundred shops burned." With so much admitted by the government, it is easy to infer that the actual facts were of the most horrible nature. A frantic mob of ignorant and brutal men, fired by the blindest passions of religious hatred, does not wreck and plunder seven hundred houses and kill and maim several hundred persons without committing deeds of fiendish barbarism. And, after making all allowances for the wild rumors which are sure to spread at such a terrible time, there remains enough, and more than enough, to justify the burning words of such men as Cardinal Gibbons and the Rev. J. S. B. Hodges, read at the Baltimore meeting yesterday.

But, as we have said, it is not merely the extent or merely the unspeakable barbarism of these atrocities that makes them the subject of universal indignation, and that calls upon all who value humanity and civilization to arise in protest against them. There are times and places where the worst passions of man break out in horrible manifestations, and nothing that laws or governments can do is adequate wholly to prevent such outbreaks. But in this case, it is precisely the condition of the laws and the policy of the government of Russia that are essentially responsible for the outrages. Such an attack as that made by the mob at Kishineff is but the legitimate result of the systematic cruelty of the law itself, which has driven hundreds of thousands of Russian Jews from their native land to countries in which they might enjoy the equal protection of the laws; and it is the denial to them by law and government of those elementary rights to which all natives of a civilized country are supposed entitled that causes the mob, when inflamed by any wild rumor, to look upon the Jews as their defenseless victims. The conduct of the authorities at Kishineff confirmed the perpetrators of the outrages in this view. The ample military force at the disposal of the governor was not employed to quell the violence until it had run riot for more than two days. It is virtual governmental incitement to outrage and actual governmental toleration of it that justify such a protest as is now put forth. And, impenetrable as the Russian government seems to be to the opinion of the civilized world, some effect will be exercised even upon it by a sense of the damage which may be done to its international relations by the detestation which its responsibility for these horrors has aroused.

[*News, Baltimore, Md., May 20, 1903*]

THE MOTE-AND-BEAM IDEA OVERDONE

In the midst of the indignation which has been aroused by the Kishineff atrocities, and which has found emphatic expression in the American press, a few voices are raised by way of caution that we be careful to remember the beam in our own eye. The barbarism of lynchings, the tortures of Filipinos, the persecution of non-union laborers, are among the things recalled to mind by these conscientious critics. Let us put our own house in order, they say, before we trouble ourselves overmuch with the sins of other nations.

Like all other maxims, whether derived from the sacred books or from the stores of secular wisdom, this of the mote and beam depends for its utility upon the sanity and judgment with which it is applied. If every nation were to be silent in the presence of outrages which stir the deepest feelings of justice and humanity until the time came when no *tu quoque* could be urged in reply, one of the salutary influences of modern civilization would be suppressed, an influence growing in importance from year to year. In the ever-memorable agitation which sprang from the Dreyfus iniquity, one of the most potent forces in purging France of that horrible disgrace was the force of international opinion; and in the manifestation of that opinion nothing was more remarkable than the part taken in it by the Russian press. In a land of arbitrary imprisonment and deportation, a land of wholesale political persecution, the sense of outrage over the peculiar exhibition of turpitude involved in the Dreyfus persecution found as just and genuine and honest expression as in the lands of liberty and free speech. There would have been as little sense in challenging the sincerity of Russian indignation at the conspiracy of perjured scoundrels who were keeping Dreyfus in the hell of Devil's Island as in doubting the genuineness of the reprobation which some lawless mountaineer might express for the wretch who beats his wife. Very probably nothing wounded French susceptibilities more than the comments of St. Petersburg on the shame of Paris and Rennes.

But aside from this general principle, it is nonsense in this case to talk about the mote and the beam. It is silly to place lynchings, or labor troubles, or any of the other things cited, alongside the awful responsibility which rests on the Russian government in the persecution of the Jews. The very defense put forward by Count Cassini shows how hopelessly indefensible is the actual position of the government. The Russian Ambassador at Washington falls back upon the old, old excuse of the Jews being money-lenders, and being unwilling to earn their living by agriculture. How much would be left of this pretense of an apology if he had happened to mention the nature of the Russian laws relating to the Jews? To quote from a statement made by Dr. Harry Friedenwald, apropos of Count Cassini's remarks:

> It is well known that the Jews of Russia, barring certain and very limited classes, are not allowed to live beyond what is known as the "Pale," a very limited district lying to the southwestern portion of European Russia. Within this district there are further limitations upon Jewish residents and occupation under the notorious laws of May 3, 1882. Under Section 272 of the laws, being No. 42 of the official collection of laws, it is enacted that the Jews are forbidden henceforth to settle outside the towns and townlets, the only exceptions being in those Jewish colonies that had existed before and whose inhabitants were agriculturists. A reference to the authoritative Jewish Encyclopedia, published in 1901, shows that the May laws of 1882 put a stop to all immigration of the Jews of the towns into villages, and, indeed, sent no less than 50,000 Jews from the villages into the towns. By these means it is declared in the Encyclopedia, that "the development of agricultural tastes among the Jews was effectually checked."
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> In spite of this, however, there were, according to the latest reports more than 100,000 Jewish agriculturists in Russia in 1900 cultivating their farms. In South Russia, within the "Pale," Jews seek work on Christian farms and find ready employment.
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> But to appreciate fully the success that has attended Jewish agricultural endeavor, we must realize the difficulties placed in the way of Jewish agriculturists by the May laws. Under the same section of the May laws above referred to, Jews are not only forbidden to purchase real estate, but even to lease land situated in townlets within the "Pale," and even to hold powers of attorney enabling them to manage and dispose of such property.

And this is only one item in the system of legal oppression of the Jews, the general purport of which may be summed up in the statement that they have none of the ordinary rights of citizens except those that may be specially granted to them.

It is this state of things—a general condition deliberately instituted, not an occasional evil tolerated or overlooked—that is at the bottom of such horrors as those of Kishineff. When they culminate in such atrocities, the civilized world does well to give voice to its sense of outrage. What methods governments may employ to reinforce the effect of protests by individuals and public meetings and the press may not be determined off-hand; but there are ways of bringing influence to bear other than formal representations addressed directly to the Russian government. In the meanwhile it is gratifying to note that the report of the dismissal of the Kishineff governor is confirmed, the statement being made that the ukase of dismissal was dated May 17. This, be it observed, was four weeks after the massacre, and it looks very much like a response to the outcry aroused throughout the world. That the Russian officials "resent" the agitation of the subject in America is all very well; the less they like it, the more probable it is that they will take some pains to avoid a repetition of the dose. American good-will is a thing Russia has never been disposed to undervalue, and the time has not yet come, thank Heaven, when American good-will is wholly unaffected by American abhorrence of blind and savage persecution.

[*Sun, Baltimore, Md., May 16, 1903*]

RUSSIAN ATROCITIES

The anti-Semitic riots, or rather massacres, in Kishineff and other towns in southwestern Russia, probably exceed in sheer atrocity anything recorded in the annals of civilized peoples. The assaults upon the Jews appear to have been entirely unprovoked. They were going about their affairs as orderly and industrious citizens, when they were assailed, maimed and killed by pitiless mobs incited to their hellish work by unscrupulous anti-Semitic agitators. Malicious stories, the inventions of bigotry and ignorance, fired the crowds that paraded the streets of Kishineff, slaying every Jew they met and searching the houses for more victims. Theft, as usual, was added to riot. The extent of the murdering and plundering seems to afford conclusive proof that the police of the town stood aloof. It is affirmed, indeed, that they even co-operated with the mob, pointing out to the fiends persons who might otherwise have escaped their bloody knives. The government is said to have ordered an investigation and to be taking steps to repress the massacres in progress, or threatened in other towns. But its action is slow, and its lukewarmness is not without blame. If the Russians were as much concerned about the lives of the Jews slain by Russians in Russia as they were about the lives of Christians slain in 1877 by the Turks in Bulgaria, such atrocities as have disgraced Kishineff would not occur. The anti-Semitic press and agitators could not have spread abroad their lies without the censor's acquiescence. Nothing is published in Russia without the government's approval. It is, therefore, not without reason that meetings are being held in this city and elsewhere to protest against the criminal negligence or complicity of the Russian authorities, to express sympathy for the sufferers and to send relief. Mayor Hayes and other prominent citizens of Baltimore will on Sunday address a mass meeting of our people at the Academy of Music in reference to the wrongs inflicted by a strong tyrant upon a weak and innocent people, and it is hoped that practical benefit will result to the impoverished survivors of the massacres.

[*Sun, Baltimore, Md., May 17, 1903*]

RUSSIAN IGNORANCE AND BIGOTRY

The backward state of civilization in Russia and parts of Austria is shown by the persistence there of the absurd belief—common in England in Chaucer's time—that the Jews need Christian blood for some religious ceremony. This belief is played upon by anti-Semitic agitators. It was the primary cause, it is stated, of the recent Jew-baiting riots in Kishineff and other towns of southern Russia. If a child disappears, being accidentally drowned or otherwise lost to view, a rumor is at once started that it has fallen a victim to the Jews, and if an unscrupulous yellow journal takes it up and harps on it day after day the ignorant peasants proceed to murder the suspected race. This was the case at Kishineff, the lost child being the son of a Russian peasant at Dubossari. The body was soon found and the police sought to allay agitation by announcing officially that it bore no traces of any wound. This declaration, however, failed to disarm popular suspicion, and riots began. Three doctors were then dispatched from Odessa for the purpose of examining the body independently. They confirmed the former verdict, that there had been absolutely no loss of blood. But meanwhile, the editor of the Kishineff newspaper, The Bessarabyetz, a Russian of the name of Kroushevan, had published several inflammatory articles, with the lamentable results which are now deplored. The ignorance of the peasantry seems to be the cause of their susceptibility to such agitators. It is incumbent upon the Russian clergy and school teachers to try to eradicate the false beliefs as to Jewish ritual, from which many of these atrocities result.

[*Sun, Baltimore, Md., June 10, 1903*]

THE KISHINEFF ISSUE

The pitiless treatment of the Jews in Russia is illustrated by the massacre at Kishineff, which is not an isolated event, unconnected with Russian policy. For years, odious restrictions have been placed upon their occupations, and their means of earning a living have been severely abridged with the object of driving them from the Czar's dominions. Race antipathies exist everywhere, but in Russia the policy of the government is known to be hostile to the Jews, so that indulgence is claimed by mobs and is obtained. Had the mob at Kishineff been confronted at once by the police and by the troops which are always kept at hand for suppressing strikes, the riot would have ended speedily. It would have had a history like that of other riots in other cities. What is specially horrible about the Kishineff massacre is that it seems to have been aided and abetted by the authorities. It is said that President Roosevelt will make official reference to the massacre and there is talk that the governments of the United States and United Kingdom will make a joint protest against the continuance of such atrocities. Be this as it may, Russia cannot afford to set itself against the moral sense of the twentieth century. The miserable fate of Nathan Longbart, a tailor in New York, who starved himself to death in an effort to save money enough to bring his wife to this country from Kishineff, emphasizes the inglorious attitude of the powers that be in that quarter.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

[*Age-Herald, Birmingham, Ala., May 15, 1903*]

MASSACRE IN RUSSIA

The emptiness of the Czar's recent decree guaranteeing religious liberty is made apparent in the Easter massacres of Jewish people in Kishineff. Kishineff is within the pale wherein Jews have been driven, and yet they are not safe there either in person or property. A dispatch published yesterday in The Age-Herald shows that at least 600 were butchered on Easter day, including many women and little children. The barbarities displayed in Kishineff were thoroughly characteristic of the half-civilized Sclavs of Russia. It is not a civilized nation, and its real advance towards humanity and enlightenment has been slight. It is still a medieval country so far as the amenities of life are involved. It is essentially barbaric.

The Jews of Russia have lived there as long as the Russians have, and they have even been children of mercy among a horde that knows no mercy. About five years ago they were driven into a pale consisting of about seven provinces, with every assurance that they would be protected in their undoubted rights. The massacre of Kishineff shows how they are protected. The fuller reports show that the rude, crude Russian workmen of Kishineff hunted them down without mercy, demolishing their stores and killing them wherever found. The laws of Russia forbade a Jew to resist with arms, and only after the bloody work had been accomplished were they permitted to use arms. This put an end to the riot. The barbarians did not desire a dose of their own medicine.

Russia considers herself, by virtue of brute force, above the sentiment of the rest of the world, and perhaps the best that can be done for the suffering Jews of Russia is to send them help in the form of money. They need it, and if there is any of it they do not need it may enable some of them to escape from the Russian trap, which is a disgrace to all humanity, all justice, and all civilization. Chinese barbarities do not exceed it. It stands a reproach to the Russian race that neither the Sultan of Turkey nor the Dowager Empress have eclipsed.

[*Ledger, Birmingham, Ala., June 1, 1903*]

MASSACRE OF JEWS

There will be a public meeting in this city this evening to give expression to the feeling aroused by the massacre of Jews by Russian peasants. Several speakers will address the meeting, which should be a very large one. Russia should know and be told plainly what the world thinks of her barbarism. There is no heed given to the half-hearted excuses of that government, given to the world.

No people would commit such excesses unless they knew that no punishment would follow. Particularly is this true of Russia, where punishments are so horrible that men hesitate even at small crimes, and they would be appalled at the idea of a great one were it not intimated that the government was willing and plunder was to be the reward of those who participated.

There were days when Jews were killed in many European countries and robbed in all of them. There were days when Christians were thrown to wild beasts, and in all ages men have butchered each other for all reasons and for no reason, but it was thought that only in China and Africa was such a thing possible now. But this butchery comes in a day of civilization and in a land called Christian. Let all the world protest so loudly that such a thing may never occur again.

[*News, Birmingham, Ala., May 22 1903*]

LET'S HAVE A MASS MEETING

Whatever the underlying cause of the massacre of the Jews of Kishineff—whether due to unpremeditated fanatical frenzy or deep-seated and long-cherished hatred of the victims; whether the result of a conspiracy or a sudden outbreak; whether the manifestation of official or private malevolence, that horrible affair stamps Russia with the red badge of shame. The complete details of the bloody carnival are not known and may never be known. The channels of information are few and restricted. The Russian government is interested in keeping full particulars of the outrage from the civilized world. To what lengths it will go is amply demonstrated by the unjust and misleading statement given out by Count Cassini. The only creditable sources of knowledge are obtained from the lips of refugees, but even they cannot tell the full extent of the massacre. Enough is known to make every right thinking person, irrespective of creed or race or political opinion, shudder with horror.

That such a massacre was permitted in Russia, where the government is everything and the individual nothing, gives the outrage an appearance of official responsibility. At least the government, if it will, can prevent similar occurrences in the future.

The Czar should hear from the civilized world in no uncertain tones. Not long since he advocated the disarmament of the nations. He suggested an international tribunal for the peaceful settlement of disputes. In a recent manifesto he extended greater rights and privileges to certain of his subjects. For all of these things he was applauded. But if he would maintain the respect of the world he must atone for Kishineff. It can be done only by punishment of the instigators of the crime and by the protection of Jews hereafter not only in their lives, but in their civil, religious and property rights.

The United States has never hesitated to voice its protest against oppression and injustice wherever committed. It protested to Spain in Cuba's behalf. It interposed in China for the protection of the subjects of other nations as well as its own. It has been but a few months since Secretary Hay addressed a note to the powers in behalf of the Jews of Roumania. None of these cases was any more urgent and none appeals more to the innate sense of justice of the American than the situation of the Jews in Russia. The Czar not long since said he desired the good-will of Americans. He should be made to know that so long as Kishineff massacres go unpunished or an inoffensive people are oppressed in his dominion he will only receive from the American people merited contempt.

The News believes that Secretary Hay should voice to the Czar the protest of the American people against the Kishineff outrage and express their hope that the rights of the Jews to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness be enlarged and protected.

Nor does The News believe that duty stops with mere protest against the massacre or mere expression of sympathy with the sufferers. The property loss of the Kishineff affair was considerable. Approximately 1000 men, women and children have been left permanently crippled by the fury of the mob. A ghastly tale of want and suffering has come over the sea and appeals to the generous American instinct. Let us act.

The News suggests that the citizens of Birmingham meet in mass convention that the State Department may be properly informed of the sentiments of this community upon the massacre, and that an organized effort to raise relief funds for the suffering survivors may be instituted.

In no other way can the indignation upon the one hand or the practical sympathy on the other be so well shown. The citizens of great, big, generous Birmingham have never failed in any emergency. They will not fail in this. Let us have a mass meeting and a rousing one, whose echoes shall sound across the seas.

BOISE, IDAHO

[*Idaho Statesman, Boise, Idaho, May 25, 1903*]

COUNT CASSINI

Count Cassini, the Russian ambassador, has brought himself into disfavor by the falsehoods he has told with respect to the recent massacres of Jews in Russia. It is asserted in Washington dispatches that the officials of our government would be glad to see him go home to return no more. He has made himself very obnoxious throughout his official residence in this country, and since the massacre he has grown worse.

He characterized the discussion of the matter in this country as an offense to his government, and in his statements on the subject he has given voice to his contempt for the Jews and for American sympathy for them. He wants to know why so much discussion has been aroused over the killing of a lot of Jews. Moreover, he has gone out of his way to express his sentiments, seeking newspaper interviews in which he has minimized the massacre and sneered at the agitation. In one of these interviews he made use of this language:

> I cannot understand what all this noise is about. Do not disturbances sometimes occur in other countries, Austria, Germany, Turkey and even this country, despite all efforts of the government officials to preserve order? Has not the Russian government taken prompt measures to punish all those persons responsible for permitting any outrages which may have occurred? At least this is what I hear from the newspapers. Officially, I have no direct information on the matter.

There is said to have been no word of regret uttered by him in any of his interviews or in any other statement since the massacre. He first devoted himself to denying there had been any serious affray and later to minimizing the massacre. In short, he has lied both to the government and to the public, and sentiment toward him has grown very bitter. Some people would have given him his passports, but his case is one that does not come within the class in which such action can be taken. He has misrepresented things in his own country, but that is no such offense as makes a minister liable to have his passoprts handed him. If he had misrepresented anything in this country in a manner that was offensive, the government could bundle him off home, but it cannot take such action because of his lying about the massacre of the poor people who fell victims to the Russian mob.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

[*Evening Transcript, Boston, Mass., May 21, 1903*]

THE PENALTIES OF INTOLERANCE

Count Cassini, the Russian ambassador in Washington, is in duty bound to make the best defense he can for his Government in the matter of the Kishineff massacre and its treatment of the Jews generally. His best is none too good, but there is no reason to doubt his assertion that in rural Russia the quarrel is largely between the peasant who has borrowed and the Jew who has loaned. Throughout darker Russia it is the Jew who has the thrift, the business intelligence and the little ready money, while the peasant has his land and his labor and his ignorance. That the lender should become the mortgagee and that the borrower should have to pay or see the mortgage foreclosed is to us perfectly natural. It is simply a commercial transaction into which neither racial nor religious questions should enter. The Russian peasant looks at it otherwise. He sees the lender through the medium of a hatred that is intensified by racial and religious prejudices that he regards as principles. The peasant is ready to believe that the Jews at certain of their religious ceremonies sacrifice a Christian child, and that he is exempted from treating him as he would treat a Christian creditor. To kill the lender is but a step beyond driving him away, in the peasant's prejudice, and to burn his books and papers a short and simple way of squaring the record. From the country to the town the hatred spreads to minds always ready to receive it, and we may note as an interesting illustration of how a lie will live through centuries that the story told of the Jews of Kishineff sacrificing a Christian child is identical with the falsehood that precipitated the massacre of the Jews in England seven hundred years ago. Then, as at Kishineff, the goods and chattels of the Jews were confiscated by their slayers. The debt was wiped out in the blood of the lenders.

Whatever steps the Russian Government may take to punish the perpetrators of the present massacres, there is no indication that it will abate its policy of pressing the Jews out of Russia. The Jews will carry their money, their money-making power and their thrift and industry to many other lands, each of which will benefit thereby at the expense of Russia, for if the teachings of history go for anything, the forced expatriation of any element of a population because of its faith or racial difference always costs an intolerant nation heavily. It was so when Spain drove out the Jews; again when she expelled her Moorish subjects, and when France drove the Huguenots to other lands. Each of the expelled peoples carried to other lands great benefits, establishing in them new industries or adding to the laboring force of others already in being. The Huguenots enriched Holland, England, Switzerland and Germany just at the very time when the commercial competition of these countries was pressing hardest on France. At a moment most critical for her, France chose to expel hundreds of thousands of busy artisans who were at once transferred to the factories and workshops of England and Holland. Some industries of which France had up to that time held the monopoly were transferred to England and Holland. The expulsion of the Huguenots by France naturally comes to mind in considering Russia's treatment of the Jews, because the Government of Russia to-day is more like that of France under Louis XIV than any other in existence. It is a despotism tempered only by the personal qualities of the sovereign; the Russian masses, like those of France of two centuries ago, are ignorant, bigoted and unaccustomed to freedom; powerless politically, they are a power ready at hand for the suppression of religious dissent or of the enterprise of any peculiarly enterprising element of the population which is odious to the powers that be. The parity between France before the revolution and the Russia of to-day may be strikingly illustrated still again before the world is many years older.

[*Globe, Boston, Mass., May 28, 1903*]

A NATION WITHOUT A COUNTRY

The terrible destruction of life and property in the city of Kishineff naturally has aroused the deepest sympathy and indignation among all the advocates of tolerance, peace and liberty in America. It has done more. It has severely strained the international bond of amity which has existed for a century between Russia and the United States.

It is said that this republic cannot do anything in the way of retaliation, because American interests are not involved. This is true, but there is no law which prevents human beings in one part of the world from sincerely sympathizing with, and alleviating the sufferings of men, women and children in another country, and letting those who are responsible for such misery know that their acts of oppression are deplored and censured. The moral effect of this spirit of disapproval of unwarranted assassination and destruction of property must be felt, and it is creditable to all who exhibit it.

It is a singular spectacle to behold the members of the Jewish race dispersed in every region of the world—a nation without a country. There is no limit to the persecutions they have experienced. There have been crusades against them since the earliest times. The hosts of Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless in 1096 murdered 12,000 of them, alleging that they were infidels. For hundreds of years after there was "Jew hunting," not only in Russia, but in various parts of Europe. This brutal crusading spirit overran Germany and also England in 1189. The Jews persecuted showed their courage at York, where 500 of them took refuge from a mob, and when a ransom was refused, the men slew their wives and children and then perished in the building which they had set on fire. At one time the Jews owned one-half of Paris; then the king robbed them and expelled them from the kingdom. Murder, robbery and expulsion has been their lot in life.

To-day in Russia the old methods have been revived. It is said there are more than 1000 imperial decrees relating to them, besides regulations and restrictions, general and local, so complicated that no human being can determine exactly what rights a Jew has.

The persecution of this race unites in different degrees three of the most powerful elements that can move mankind—the spirit of religious intolerance, the spirit of exclusive nationality, and the jealousy which springs from trade or mercantile competition.

There is a sort of social "dead line" in Russia for the Hebrews. It is called "the Pale of Settlement," which stretches along the frontier from the Baltic to the Black sea, and is described as "a hell of seething wretchedness." "Here," says a writer, "5,000,000 of Jews are compelled to live and die in a ghetto of filth and misery. Beyond are lands where corn rots for lack of ingatherers, yet they are cabined and confined. Jews leaving one village for another lose their rights and must go to the ghetto of the nearest town. This is practically a sentence of death. Executions are going on, not upon scaffolds, but in dusky ghettos, where the victims of oppression pine without hope in the world."

The belief that the Hebrews in Russia are rich is unfounded, according to Mr. White, late minister to St. Petersburg, who says: "A very small fraction of the Jews in Russia are wealthy; few even are in comfortable circumstances. The vast majority are in poverty and a very considerable part in misery, just on the border of starvation. Even the best of them are treated with contempt by the lowest of the pure Russians."

The present persecution is principally due to racial prejudice. In view of the horror throughout the civilized world by reason of the Kishineff outrages, Russia, which is sensitive to public opinion, will be driven to take steps to prevent a recurrence of them. The present sympathetic movement in America, where public opinion is quickly formed, is certain to have a powerful influence upon the czar, who cannot afford to defy the unanimous protest of all nations.

[*Globe, Boston, Mass., July 7, 1903*]

RUSSIA AND THE PETITION

There is much needless apprehension in some quarters, and particularly in government circles, over the probable effect of the transmission by President Roosevelt of the petition of the united Hebrew congregations, in which the Czar of Russia is implored to ameliorate the condition of the persecuted Jews in his empire.

When wholesale murder and robbery occur under such conditions as prevailed at Kishineff it is always right for the people of any nation to enter their protest on broad humanitarian grounds against such atrocious proceedings. The power receiving a respectful protest can not wholly ignore universal public opinion officially expressed. Russia has the same right, and if she believed for a moment that the government of the United States was suffering or tolerating murder and robbery in our states, it would be her duty to civilization to send us her dignified protest.

On another occasion, when there was great suffering among the Jews in Russia, President Harrison informed our people that "This government has found occasion to express in a friendly spirit, but with much earnestness, to the government of the Czar, its serious concern because of the harsh measures now being enforced against the Hebrews in Russia." Mr. Harrison's opinion that "The suggestions of humanity furnish ample ground for the remonstrances which we have presented to Russia" is the one which should be held to-day by the authorities at Washington.

The problem which faces the Russian government is a racial and religious one. It is because the Hebrews are fighting for religious liberty, under all sorts of persecution, that their pitiable condition appeals to American sympathies. They make a strong point in their petition when they express hope that the Czar "will proclaim, not only for the government of your own subjects, but also for the guidance of all civilized men, that none shall suffer in person, property, liberty, honor or life because of his religious belief, that the humblest subject or citizen may worship according to the dictates of his own conscience."

The United States has an open door for all Europeans, and it is noteworthy that the Russian Jews who come here are helping the country. It appears, according to a good authority, that Russian Jews, after learning American methods of business, have become American agents in the towns along the line of the Trans-Siberian railroad, and have for some time been pushing the sale of American agricultural machinery and other products. The high tariff wall of Russia bothered American manufacturers, but these Hebrews have found a way to open the market. They have also exhibited and sold American goods in many parts of far-off Siberia and Manchuria.

The sympathy of America for the Hebrews is based on the same broad grounds as that which has been for so many years expressed for the people of Ireland. This sympathy, which has led to no rupture between the relations of Great Britain and America, seems destined to bring about good results. Similar sympathy for the Hebrews now may also accomplish much good.

The Czar we hope will receive the Hebrew petition in the spirit in which it is sent, and in the end it should increase rather than diminish the friendly relations between the two powers.

BUFFALO, NEW YORK

[*Commercial, Buffalo, N. Y., May 20, 1903*]

RUSSIA'S SHAME

The atrocities perpetrated in the massacre of Jews in the Russian town of Kishineff, Bessarabia, are of so revolting a character that human nature itself is ashamed and disgraced by them. The details are scarcely printable and it is not necessary that they should be printed. Letters have been received by Jews in New York from relatives in southern Russia describing the outrages minutely. Excluding some of the ghastly details we give the substance of one such message:

To My Dear Cousin Joseph Samuel and Wife to live in Happiness:

Dear Cousin: In my last letter I have already stated to you about the terrible outrages committed against our brethren in Kishineff. It started first by a group of small boys who opened by throwing stones into Jewish houses.

These boys were encouraged by the police. Later a band of ruffians dressed in red shirts arrived on the scene. They looked as if they were organized by the police, as the police followed them without molesting them.

The Lieutenant-Colonel of the garrison in Kishineff, a Christian, but humane person, went to the Governor for instructions but he was told not to interfere. He protested and went to telegraph to St. Petersburg. His message was not accepted by the telegraph authorities. He then went to Bender, a neighboring town, and telegraphed from there to St. Petersburg. The reply came within twenty-four hours after, to the Governor, to suppress the riot and use force if need be. It took but a few minutes to suppress it.

Now the Governor-General M. Poushkin is here from Odessa, and is conducting an investigation of the massacre.

Count Cassini, the Russian Ambassador at Washington, says he is "sure the reports must be exaggerated;" that "the most drastic measures have been taken by the Russian government to prevent repetitions of the troubles, and that the government always has done all that is possible to prevent them." But this is not true. The Russian government has itself been cruelly oppressive in its treatment of the Jews. It has denied them the rights accorded other men, put a brand upon them as outcasts and thus inevitably made them a class of suspects and objects of popular hatred. In the recent massacre the police and soldiers took an active part and the higher authorities acted tardily. Making all reasonable allowances for exaggeration, the truth is damning to Russian civilization.

If it is said, as Count Cassini would say, that the Russian government is humane and well disposed but unable to control these outbursts of savagery as may be said of our federal government in relation to the numerous lynchings and race collisions in the South, justice compels us to point to the betrayal and oppression of the Finns, a sturdy, honest, self-governing people of an admirable type, whose nationality the Russian government is deliberately strangling. There is no race or religious prejudice to plead for excuse there. Russian rulers, indeed, equally with the brutalized lower classes, deserve the condemnation of mankind.

[*Courier, Buffalo, N. Y., May 19, 1903*]

THE MASSACRE AT KISHINEFF

When the early reports of the savage massacre of the Jews at Kishineff were published, the American Ambassador at St. Petersburg cabled to the State Department a denial by the Russian government of the truth of the stories. So many previous statements, invented for the purpose of discrediting Russia, had proved false, that ground seemed to exist for accepting the authoritative contradiction, or at least believing the outrage had been greatly exaggerated. But unfortunately the worst that was told now appears to have been true, as Russia does not longer dispute the main facts. A horrible crime against humanity was committed. Count Cassini, the Czar's representative at Washington, yesterday gave the Associated Press agent an interview in which, naturally, he sought to relieve his government from as much of the odium attached to the slaughter as he could. He resorted to the old excuse that many of the Jews were money-lenders whose usurious practices ruined the peasants and drove them to desperation. This might be true to an extent; but the Jewish people at Kishineff evidently were murdered without distinction in the fury of race hatred.

For many of the Jews in Europe the situation is sad and terrible, in parts of Austria, Germany and some other nations, the feeling against them being almost as violent as in the Russian provinces. Really civilized people, of whatever religion, must feel a deep sympathy for them, but about all that can be done is to send means for the assistance of the impoverished survivors when such an outrage as that at Kishineff occurs. Governments like ours may make diplomatic representations in a mild way, perhaps requesting better protection for the oppressed, but the main problem remains unsolved because there is no place of refuge to which the poor of the persecuted race may go, even the door of this country being closed against them.

CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

[*News and Courier, Charleston, S. C., May 30, 1903*]

BRING THE JEWS HERE

There are about five million Jews in Russia, as we have noted, and they are the most unhappy people in the world. They are kept in the direst poverty, they live under the most severe restrictions, and every man's hand is against them. Not only are their places of residence decreed by the government, but, as former Ambassador White says in a report to the State Department, " Even in the parts of the Empire where the Israelites are most free they are not allowed to hold property or land, or take a mortgage on land, or to farm land, and of late they have been, even to a large extent, prevented from living on farms, and have been thrown back into cities and villages."

It has been objected to the settlement of colonies of these people in this part of the United States that their instincts are all commercial, and that they would not succeed as tillers of the soil. The objection, however, is not well founded, because their adaptability to agriculture has been demonstrated in their own land. The Jewish colony settled at Vineland, N. J., has proved among other things that the Jew does succeed in agricultural effort. The Russian Jew, according to Dr. White, is far superior to the Russian peasant. He is sober, self-denying and provident. He is law-abiding and law-respecting, and under fair treatment he prospers wherever he is placed.

There are great stretches of unoccupied lands in South Carolina upon which these people might be placed to their own advantage, and the advantage of the State. It is a great pity that we appear to have no organization whose special business it is to look after the encouragement of immigration to our State. What a great thing it would be if the Commercial Club of Charleston could establish a progressive record in this direction!

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

[*News, Chattanooga, Tenn., May 20, 1903*]

A VERY BLACK CHAPTER

Discussing the massacre of Jews in Kishineff, The New York Sun declares that "the blackest chapter in the history of Christianity is the cruelty of so-called Christians to the race of Jesus Christ. The worst medieval persecutions are equaled or exceeded by this Kishineff massacre. Murder and mutilation, robbery, outrage, exile; these are the penalties of the crime of being a Jew in Southern Russia."

That is a strong statement of a fact. For coarse, murderous brutality, this massacre deserves to stand at the head. It is difficult to believe the stories that come from that portion of the dominion of the Czar, but accepting the official reports of the massacre, it is beyond doubt without a parallel of recent occurrence. The Minister of the Interior for Russia has issued a circular at Odessa which places the killed at 45; seriously wounded 74; slightly wounded, 350, and estimates that 700 houses of the Hebrews were wrecked and plundered during the rioting. This is the report of Minister W. K. Plehve, a member of the Czar's cabinet, and confidential adviser of that monarch.

Other reports show that the massacre was far more terrible than this official represents it to have been. Private letters have reached friends in the East from unfortunate Jews in Kishineff, which tell a far different story. One of these letters is vouched for by one of the most prominent and trustworthy merchants of Newark, N. J. The newspapers of that city say that the authority is absolutely beyond question. This letter describes the massacre as having occurred the second day after Easter. A Jewish theater manager was charged with attacking a young Christian girl. Without so much as a trial the manager was killed, and then word was given to kill every Jew in Kishineff. The letter adds:

> The press censor says that only forty were killed in the massacre, but four times forty would not cover the killed, and forty times forty the wounded and maimed.

I am not able to picture to you all the horrible cruelties I have seen. You remember the beautiful city of Kishineff, but if you could see it now you would be appalled at the destruction and ruin. In every part of the city can be seen dead bodies covered with stones, which the Russian devils have thrown on top of them after they have been killed. Little children have been torn to pieces and their flesh thrown to the dogs.

Rich people of our race are now compelled to stand up and accept a few pounds of bread to keep them from starving. Parents everywhere are searching for children and are unable to find them.

The chances are that this report is more correct than the ministerial circular quoted above.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

[*Chronicle, Chicago, Ill., May 17, 1903*]

NOT CHRISTIANITY, BUT POLICY

It is not fair to reproach Christianity with the slaughter of the Jews in Russia. That horror is despite Christianity, not because of it. In other words, the Christianity of the Russian peasant is formal and not actual.

This does not excuse the Russian government, however, for whatever may be said of the ignorance and brutality of the "mujicks," the men who rule the empire from St. Petersburg are educated and intelligent—none more so.

The Muscovite bureaucracy comprises the subtlest and most astute statesmen in the world. Probably it is for that very reason that the massacres of Jews have been permitted if not actually encouraged.

It is the policy of the Russian government to turn the thoughts of the people in any direction save that of political reform. To interest the "mujick" in fairs, to amuse him with spectacles, and, above all, to maintain his allegiance to the established church and thus to the established government—this has been Russian policy since the time of Peter the Great.

There can be no doubt that it is in pursuance of this policy that the Kishineff horror has been watched with indifference by the military and the police of that district. The imperial government argues that when the peasant is murdering and robbing Jews he will not be hatching conspiracies against the established order of things.

On the contrary, he will feel grateful to a paternal government which does not interfere with a proceeding which gratifies at once his religious fanaticism and his love of loot. This is no doubt a cold-blooded and inhuman policy, but Russian policy never has been anything else but cold-blooded.

What the rest of the civilized world can or will do about it remains to be seen. It is unfortunate that the skirts of other nations are not so clear as to justify indignant protest against barbarity which disgraces humanity, but what governments may not do the voice of outraged civilization may prove effective to accomplish.

Even the Russian oligarchy can hardly afford to turn a deaf ear to the protests of humane people all over the world.

[Chronicle, Chicago, Ill., May 19, 1903]

APPEAL TO THE CZAR

What will especially excite the indignation of the civilized world with reference to the massacre of Jews by Russia is the evidence which has come to light that the imperial government does nothing to protect the persecuted people, if indeed it does not secretly encourage their enemies in the work of slaughter.

An authentic document distinctly involving the imperial government has seen the light. It is a secret letter of instructions sent by the Russian minister of the interior to the governor of Bessarabia before the slaughter at Kishineff. It shows that the authorities at the capital knew what was likely to happen, and it instructs the governor to contribute to the stopping of disorders "by means of admonitions, without at all having recourse, however, to the use of arms."

This was a sufficiently plain intimation that the government does not intend to afford any protection to the Jews.

It is also reported from St. Petersburg that a ministerial circular has been prepared forbidding the Jews to defend themselves. This is understood to be equivalent to a notification to the Jews that their only safe course is to get out of Russia as fast as they can.

With this encouragement to bigoted and savage mobs we have only to look for still greater atrocities. And what can be done about it? Protests through the usual diplomatic channels will be of no more avail than like protests addressed to the Turkish government have been. A polite "mind your own business and stop your own cruelties" will be the only response.

Appeals to be of any avail must be addressed directly to the Czar. He has given proof in various ways that he is a humane man and that he has some respect for the sentiments of the civilized world in such matters. He leaves most administrative matters to his ministers, of course, but he has power if he chooses to exercise it. That his ministers themselves are merciless we have evidence enough, but they will not venture to disobey his positive orders.

To him, therefore, lies the appeal, and means should be found to reach him directly, and not through some ministerial medium who is himself a Jew baiter.

[*Evening Post, Chicago, Ill., May 15, 1903*]

THE CZAR AND TOLERATION

Shocking beyond expression are the details of the Kishineff massacre as given in the latest dispatches to London papers and in certain private letters from the scene of the outrage. The victims of the anti-Semitic riot number 1,000, and at least sixty-five of these were killed by the brutal and fanatical mob. Hundreds were maimed or crippled for life, and the damage to property is estimated at half a million dollars.

The most serious of the charges are these—that the authorities abetted and encouraged, if they had not organized, the "crusade," that the killing and pillaging was done under cover of the troops and the police; that the leaders of the mob were educated and "respectable" Jew-baiters, and that it is not the intention of the government to disclose the facts and punish the murderers and the instigators of the massacre. We must hope that there is much exaggeration in the reports. Turkey has never done anything worse than the acts of which Russia is now accused, and no fair-minded man will lightly indorse the statement made by an Anglo-Jewish organ that the central government of Russia is responsible for the Kishineff horror.

One thing, however, is certain: The government is responsible for the propaganda of hate, barbarism and inhumanity which directly lead to carnage and atrocity. There is no reason to doubt the statement that "Jew-baiting is now spreading through southern Russia, stimulated by stories of so-called ritual murders." And the circulation of these infamous stories by the anti-Semitic press is sanctioned and permitted by the government! A paper which published the facts of the Kishineff tragedy has been suppressed, but the rapid and crazy sheets which incite and inflame the ignorant and superstitious are accorded full license. As there is no freedom of speech and press in Russia, and as the censors and the ministry do not hesitate to prohibit the publication of any matter that the government deems dangerous, immoral or pernicious in its tendency, the conclusion is inevitable that the anti-Semitic propaganda is approved and encouraged by the government.

The Czar named greater religious toleration as one of the reforms he had determined to bestow upon his people. What a mockery that rescript is in the light of the flames of anti-Semitic crusades! Toleration means equal rights, the removal of political and industrial disabilities, equal protection of the laws. The Kishineff massacre is a crushing indictment of the present Russian governmental system. Heroic remedies must be applied if Russia is to be regarded as a civilized power.

[*Evening Post, Chicago, Ill., May 16, 1903*]

RUSSIA AND THE DUTY OF HUMANITY

It is intimated from Washington that, while intense indignation is expressed in official circles over the Kishineff massacre, it is felt that the government cannot possibly take any action in the premises. Even a mild protest against the policy which inevitably leads to atrocity and outrage is out of the question, since Russia is a sovereign power entitled to the same immunity from intermeddling and criticism as is enjoyed by any other independent nation. As we should resent Russian protests against mob violence within our own jurisdiction, we cannot consistently lecture the St. Petersburg government upon its duties and responsibilities with reference to its Jewish subjects.

The argument is sound enough, though the sovereignty of the "sick man" of the near East did not deter Europe from entering vigorous protest against his course and attitude at the time of the Bulgarian atrocities. There is, however, an important difference between the two cases. The Turkish authorities were generally believed to have instigated and incited the outrages which shocked civilized humanity, while in the present instance the presumption certainly is that the Russian government is in no wise materially implicated.

Count Cassini, the Russian ambassador at Washington, is reported as saying: "The charge that the government was in any way connected with the riots is absolutely untrue. The Russian government deplores these riots, but it cannot change the temper of the people; it can only suppress the disturbances, and it does that with the utmost rigor." The ambassador speaks, of course, from general knowledge and belief, but what he says is doubtless true in the main.

One thing he overlooks, however, and that is the moral responsibility of the central government for the horrors which bring shame and disgrace upon it. The propaganda of race hatred and fanaticism which it has negatively sanctioned is the cause of the tragedy. A government cannot change the temper of the people, but where it is autocratic and absolute it can prohibit the dissemination of infamous lies and incendiary appeals to the passions of the superstitious and ignorant mob. Liberal sentiments the Russian government does not tolerate; stories of ritualistic murders and malicious comments calculated to excite rage and fury are treated as harmless, if not as proper and "patriotic." Upon this humanity has a perfect right to found charges of sympathy on the part of the Russian government with the anti-Semitic barbarians and their vicious press organs.

This moral responsibility should be emphasized and driven home. The Russian government is supposed to entertain decent regard for the opinion of civilized mankind, and it can be shamed, morally coerced, into abandoning its policy of discrimination, hostility and persecution toward its perfectly loyal and law-abiding Jewish subjects. The governments of the world will not interfere, but the public opinion of Christendom is bound to assert itself and to condemn Russia's course in the most stern, impressive and effectual manner. No modern government can be indifferent to the judgment of humanity. The contempt and abhorrence of civilization would prove more potent than a hundred perfunctory diplomatic notes of protest. Aid the oppressed materially and morally, but at the same time condemn and rebuke the oppressor.

[*Evening Post, Chicago, Ill., May 18, 1903*]

THE CZAR'S RESPONSIBILITY

There is, we fear, little reason to doubt the authenticity of the text of the "perfectly confidential" circular addressed by Plehve, the reactionary minister of the interior, to the governor of the Russian province in which the recent massacre occurred. It fully accounts for the indifference and passivity of the local authorities, for the failure of the police and the troops to protect the lives and the property of the Kishineff victims. The evidence of this failure may be considered overwhelming.

Plehve refers to the "wide disturbances" being prepared against the Jews "who chiefly exploit the local population"

—the government having deprived them of all other opportunities of earning a livelihood—and gives this Jesuitical instruction: " In view of the general disquietude, the disposition of the population of towns to seek a vent for itself, and also in view of the unquestionable undesirability of instilling by too severe measures anti-governmental feelings into a population which has not yet been affected by propaganda, your excellency will not fail to contribute to the immediate stopping of disorders which may arise by means of admonitions, without at all having recourse, however, to the use of arms."

In other words, the authorities were ordered to limit themselves to the methods of moral and passive resistance, to argument and suasion! Count Tolstoi apparently has a very distinguished convert in Plehve, though the minister has not sufficiently mastered the non-resistance doctrine to apply it to liberal students, editors who venture to express opinions of their own and other critics of the benevolent and " divinely appointed " autocracy. Plehve was not averse to giving the brutal and fiendish mob " the vent " which it was disposed to seek, so long as the massacre and pillage could be prevented from spreading to non-Jewish elements. His principal concern was the possibility of instilling anti-governmental feelings by excessive severity!

The provincial and local authorities implicitly obeyed these remarkable instructions. The crusade, incited by incendiary and ferocious stuff passed by the censor, lasted four days! The government could easily have suppressed it in an hour, had it used the " rigor " of which Count Cassini speaks in his lame apology. And here is the effect of the Plehve passive-resistance circular, as officially admitted by the minister himself: Forty-five persons killed; seventy-four seriously wounded; three hundred and fifty slightly wounded; seven hundred houses of Hebrews wrecked and plundered; six hundred shops robbed.

In the words of Cardinal Gibbons, " Our sense of justice revolts at the thought of persecution for religion's sake, but when persecution is attended with murder and pillage the brain reels and the heart sickens and righteous indignation is aroused at the enormity of such a crime. What a blot upon our civilization is this slaughter of inoffensive men, women and children!"

One naturally hesitates to fasten responsibility for such crimes against human nature upon the present Czar, a dreamer, reformer, advocate of universal peace and religious toleration. But the ugly and damning facts carry their own moral. The local authorities would not have been so inactive and indifferent had they not received intimation that too much rigor or zeal would offend the central government. The dissemination of atrocious lies and imbecile slanders has been sanctioned, if not encouraged, by the censors and officials. Anti-Semitic propaganda has never been checked or disapproved, and general and systematic hounding and persecution of a race inevitably leads in a country so backward, ignorant and superstitious as Russia to wholesale murder, violence and pillage.

The policy of the Russian government is the cause of the horror which has shocked and outraged civilization. The governments of the world may not feel justified in arraigning Russia before the bar of humanity, but enlightened opinion is free and bound to speak as Cardinal Gibbons, Dr. Gilman and the American press have spoken. Silence is approval.

[*Evening Post, Chicago, Ill., May 22, 1903*]

IS RUSSIA REALLY REPENTANT?

According to the latest dispatches the governor of Bessarabia and the Kishineff chief of police have been dismissed for their failure to take vigorous action toward the suppression of the anti-Semitic riots. It also appears that hundreds of arrests have been made and that not a few are to suffer imprisonment for their participation in the patriotic crusade. Does this indicate sincere contrition, and a desire to render wholesale slaughter, pillage, rape and fiendish atrocity impossible in the future?

Frankly, we doubt it. If the Russian government were really repentant, not the agents and tools but the principals and chief conspirators would be called to account and dismissed in disgrace for action which deprives Russia of the respect of civilized mankind, of all claim to recognition as a cultured and Christian power. Plehve, the cruel reactionary, the author of the infamous circular advising passive resistance to the blood-thirsty mob, should be the first victim of the Czar's wrath. The local authorities would never have dared to remain inactive had they not received the minister's Machiavellian and monstrous "perfectly secret" warning.

With the brutal Plehve would go the censors who permitted the publication of the imbecile and incendiary lies regarding the ritual murder and the alleged desecration of a church by the Kishineff Jews. The ferocious and malignant anti-Semitic editors and censors are the real authors of the outrages. It is a remarkable fact by the way, that the leading St. Petersburg newspaper, always rabidly anti-Semitic, has not printed a line of editorial comment on the horror. If this is not confession of sympathy and approval, what is it? Cassini himself will bow in admiration to this great and courageous organ of Russian opinion. Truly, what is there to make a fuss about? as the gentle ambassador wonderingly asks.

To quote the Count further: "It seems to me it amounts to nothing more than a tempest in a teapot. Do not disturbances sometimes occur in other countries—Austria, Germany, Turkey and even in this country—despite all efforts of the government officials to preserve order? Has not the Russian government taken prompt measures to punish all those persons responsible for permitting any outrages which may have occurred?" No, we have not heard that any measure has been taken to punish the criminal who sent that no-force order to the governor of Bessarabia. We have not heard that the censors have been removed or even reprimanded for "passing" poisonous and inflammatory and vicious stuff, the constant consumption of which inevitably produces utter indifference to massacre and worse.

We learn from accounts in Russian papers (since punished for their temerity) that the intelligent Christian citizens paraded the streets of the city during the riots with perfect equanimity and complacency and that the mounted troops, infantry and armed police which filled the city shouted at the disturbers, " scolded them most severely " and " very earnestly pleaded " with them " to come to order." For the first time in the history of governments the Tolstoian gospel of non-resistance to evil has thus been applied in a case of mob violence and savagery. Cassini, like his friend Plehve, is evidently a convert to non-resistance —where the victims happen to be Jews. What is all this noise about? A hundred persons killed, a few hundred maimed, crippled and disabled, thousands robbed and beaten and outraged, women dishonored and ravished—is not all this a familiar occurrence in our day and generation?

The Plehves, Cassinis and their even more cynical followers of the depraved press are infinitely more guilty than the drunken and debased mob some of whose members are now being tried and punished.

[*Evening Post, Chicago, Ill., May 29, 1903*]

RUSSIA'S BELATED DENIAL

In justice to the humane Czar and the few liberal members of his ministry, attention should be directed to the explicit denial of the report concerning the astounding " non-resistance " circular. On the authority of the St. Petersburg correspondent of The London Times it was generally assumed that the version of the alleged " perfectly confidential " communication of Plehve, the minister of the interior, to the governor of Bessarabia was authentic and correct. The official organ of the Russian government now states that the report regarding this circular was wholly without foundation.

This means that no communication of any sort was sent by the minister to General Von Raaben with reference to the situation at Kishineff on the eve of the massacre, and that the governor had no orders requiring him to refrain from doing his full duty in the event of disturbance and riot. We are bound to credit the unequivocal denial, and that part of the indictment against the government which rested on the alleged circular must therefore be withdrawn.

But the general counts of the indictment stand and will stand in spite of any number of disclaimers of immediate and direct responsibility for the atrocities. Tolstoi and Gorki will not recall one word or syllable of their terrible arraignment of the bureaucracy and its servile agents. The ugly and damning fact remains that the savagery of the fanatical mob is the consequence of the government's deliberate policy toward its Jewish subjects—a policy of persecution, discrimination, oppression and denial of fundamental human rights. It is the government which impoverishes, degrades, crushes the Jews cooped up in the pale and which by precept and example teaches the brutal and superstitious masses that the former have no rights they are bound to respect.

How is the behavior of General Von Raaben to be accounted for? If he had no secret orders to offer no physical resistance to the mob, the only explanation of his criminal indifference, his practical connivance, is found in the theory that he feared to offend his superiors by excessive vigor in behalf of the maltreated and despised element of the population. He had an adequate force of armed police and troops. He could have ended the riot in ten minutes. The reports of correspondents for St. Petersburg papers state that the troops and police merely "shouted" at the mob, "severely scolded" the rioters and "loudly called them to order." This strict adherence to moral suasion, this non-resistance to murder, pillage, rape and violence, is certainly an extraordinary phenomenon. What does it mean, and who is responsible for it?

The Russian denial is reassuring in a measure, but hardly sufficient. The civilized world is entitled to a full and frank statement of the facts of the case, particularly of the government's opinion of the course of the officials of the province and the locality. One or two dismissals will not answer.

[*Examiner, Chicago, Ill., May 23, 1903*]

THIS REPUBLIC CAN AND SHOULD PROTEST TO RUSSIA

While the civilized world shudders over the massacre at Kishineff, further news of which proves that the first reports, frightful as they were, fell far short of the actual horrors, our State department busies itself in giving out reasons why no official notice can be taken of the atrocities by the government of the United States.

The people listen with neither interest nor patience to these expositions of the niceties of diplomatic etiquette. They know that men, women and children have been murdered wholesale and with every accompaniment of fiendish outrage by a brutal and fanatical mob, which could easily have been restrained had the authorities chosen to exert themselves. And that knowledge has moved all that is human in this country to anger and loathing against the murderers and to sympathy for their victims.

It is unnecessary for Secretary Hay to tell us that it is not customary for one nation to concern itself with the internal affairs of another. Everybody is aware of that.

But there are exceptions to the rule. Occasions have arisen in the past when all Christendom cried out in dismay and wrath against occurrences not worse than the slaughter in Kishineff, for nothing could be worse.

In his last year's note to the powers respecting the ill-treatment of the Jews in Roumania, Mr. Hay himself cited one instance in which the rule of non-interference was departed from. He said:

> "Long ago, while the Danubian principalities labored under oppressive conditions, which only war and a general action of the European powers sufficed to end, the persecution of the indigenous Jews under Turkish rule called forth in 1872 the strong remonstrances of the United States."

If we could officially make strong remonstrance against the persecution of the Jews under Turkish rule, why not against the persecution of the Jews under Russian rule?

Are we to restrain ourselves because Turkey is weak and Russia strong? If so, that is a plea of prudence and not of principle—and we are being treated from Washington to essays on international usage that have nothing to say about principle but much about prudence and politeness.

The United States was not a party to the treaty of Berlin, which assured the independence of Roumania. By what right, then, did Secretary Hay presume to interfere with the domestic concerns of that Kingdom in 1902 by calling the attention of the signatory powers to Roumania's discriminations against and abuse of the Jews?

He based our government's action on two grounds:

1. That the Jews were forced by persecution to emigrate to this country, and

2. Humanity.

Is it not true that Russia discriminates in her laws against the Jews as well as Roumania?

Is it not true that this discrimination and persecution have driven hundreds of thousands of Russian Jews to our shores within recent years?

Are the claims of humanity not as great in the case of the Russian Jews as in that of the Roumanian Jew?

It is certain that there will be a new influx of Hebrews from Russia as the direct result of the Kishineff massacre. When that happens, as it must within the next few months, if not weeks, what will our government do?

How can it, with the Roumanian note of 1902 facing it as a self-made precedent, refrain from protesting to Russia?

The Kishineff affair was but the inevitable culmination of Russia's settled policy, which makes an alien and an outcast of the Jew. It was but an expression of the whole system which has sent to us a flood of immigrants fleeing from robbery, torture and murder.

If the United States government was warranted, despite the sacred rules of diplomacy, in taking Roumania to task, then the United States government is warranted in protesting to Russia, independently of the Kishineff horror.

But, it is urged, we should deeply offend Russia were we to protest.

What then? A protest does not mean that we threaten war unless we are listened to. It signifies that as a civilized power we are shocked by barbarity and assume the right to say so—that we deem it our national duty to raise our voice on behalf of outraged humanity.

If Russia should choose to take offense at that, let her. At least she, and all mankind, would know that the American Republic abhors the bloody persecution of men of one religion by men of another religion.

The good to be accomplished by a protest would compensate, a thousand times over, for any temporary strain in our official relations with Russia.

That protest would be the voice of the modern world. It would have behind it not only the whole people of the United States, of every race and faith, but the strength of the enlightened public opinion of every nation, even of those which have anti-Semitic elements in their populations. It would have the approval of the best thought and feeling of Russia itself.

The Czar is not a savage, however barbarous many of his subjects may be. He has dismissed from office the Governor of Kishineff, who could have suppressed the rioters and did not. The Czar desires to stand well in the judgment of Western civilization. It should be within the literary resources of the American State Department so to couch a note expressive of the effect produced in the United States by such crimes as those done in Bessarabia that it would not mortally affront a man of Nicholas' stamp.

But that is a secondary consideration. A moral duty has been laid upon the United States by those hideous crimes which it cannot evade without being false to the fundamental interests of mankind. The American people have a right to demand that that duty shall be discharged.

Meantime want and suffering stalk among the survivors of Kishineff and amidst those that have fled from there to less perilous spots. The Hebrews of the United States and other countries are generously offering succor. But this task ought not to be left solely to the Jews. Christians, and all men that hate persecution and are capable of pity, should join in giving to the relief fund. That in itself will be a protest which the ruling and the guilty classes of Russia cannot fail to understand. William Randolph Hearst, editor of this newspaper, now abroad, cables a contribution of $1,000.

Give. That is the immediate duty. And then add your voice to the American chorus which demands that the Government of the United States shall not rest silent while unoffending men and helpless women and innocent children are murdered in Russia in Christ's name.

[*Hearst's Chicago American, May 22, 1903*]

WHY RUSSIA FEARS THE JEWS

Liberty is born in them. They threaten tyranny and superstition everywhere.

The cowardly attacks upon the Jews in Russia affect personally every human being interested in the progress of the human race.

Official Russia murders the Jews spasmodically and oppresses them always because she fears them.

Prejudice against the Jews is, unfortunately, not confined to Russia. It exists in France, in England and in America. This newspaper, endeavoring in a crude way to represent human decency and to arouse sympathy for the oppressed, receives many indications of ignorant religious and race prejudice. Letters are received denouncing those of the Jewish race, and incidently denouncing this newspaper for its stand in regard to the Russian murders.

But this petty feeling against the Jews in America and elsewhere among the civilized races means nothing. It is simply the survival of a very old preaching.

For two thousand years merchants, clergymen, nobles, soldiers—all respectability—have attacked the Jews and circulated lies concerning them.

The human race, like an individual child, cannot in a short time recover from the influences of early false teachings.

There are among us millions who still believe more or less in ghosts or other ridiculous teachings. What wonder that some of us still hold to the cowardly and bigoted denunciation of Jews.

But a few years ago, and the Irish here fought at regular intervals with the Germans. The English—advertising for help—added always: "No Irish need apply." The average American of low intellect to-day has a feeling of hatred for the Italian, and the word "Dago" stirs up rage in a hundred stupid, ignorant brains when it is uttered in our city streets.

If we thus contrive to keep up race animosities with only a few years' development, it is only natural that a certain low class among us should hang on to the anti-Jewish feeling that has been nursed for ages. It is a great tribute to the Jews that, in spite of small numbers and poor opportunities, they have been able to wipe out so much of the hatred based on superstition and envy.

With the Russians, persecution, murder and oppression are not based on any ghost stories of the dead centuries. The actual murders of Jews in Russia are committed by base, superstitious murderers, goaded to murderous fury by the hideous religious rage that has always led to murder.

The wholesale murderer in Russia is a religious fanatic, as he has always been throughout history.

But the intelligent Russian who connives at the murder of Jews is no fanatic. He is an intelligent Russian whose fortunes are bound up with Russian autocracy. He is a man who can prosper only as long as the masses of the people are contented slaves.

The educated Russian hates and persecutes the Jew because he fears him.

The Jew has behind him ages of experience in fighting against oppression.

The poorest Jew in Russia is a menace to Russian autocracy—the hideous rule of one man over the lives and fortunes of millions.

The history of the Jews is a splendid record of battles against slavery and all forms of injustice, and against all kinds of odds.

Ever since the Jews, led by Moses, left Egypt, they have fought against slavery. They preferred the desert with its dangers and hunger to full-fed stomachs under Egyptian rule.

They have died in thousands for the sake of liberty. They have contributed to the cause of freedom thousands of humble martyrs and they have contributed also great epoch-making geniuses.

A man like Heine, like Lasalle, wrote and worked and lived to attack and put to shame the power that enslaves men's bodies and wills. A noble genius like Spinoza lived, worked and died in poverty to free men's brains from the chains of superstition and from the ignorance that dares to question.

A Jew like Gambetta arose to put order in the great French movement toward liberty, when a man of force and genius combined with methodical thought was essential.

All through history the Jews have contributed splendid men to the cause of liberty.

And what Russia hates in the Jew is his eternal stand for human freedom.

There is a poor, forlorn Jewish peddler carrying his heavy pack from one village to another.

Do you suppose the Russian noble envies him the few miserable pennies that he can get in exchange for part of his heavy load?

No.

That Jewish peddler is hated because he has learned from his father and mother that men are equal.

He is hated because he knows how to talk.

He is hated and feared because he lets the light into the poor, dull minds of the Russian peasants.

All of noble, aristocratic Russia depends on public servility.

The people must be kept down, they must be kept humble and subservient or the Russian system collapses.

There are in Russia four millions of Jews—only four millions among more than a hundred millions of people.

But those four millions have the active brains, and while they are not, as a rule, among the most intelligent of their race, they are men of genius in comparison with the heavy, half-brutish peasantry about them.

The Russian Moujik, filled with strong drink and sleeping heavily through the winter on top of his colossal stove, would carry forever on his back the load of the Russian nobility.

The Jew will not carry that load.

He resists and throws it off whenever he can.

Every one of the four million Jews is more or less of a menace to the Russian system.

For that reason the Russians oppress and murder the Jews. For that reason all Americans believing in human freedom should take the side of the Jews irrespective of race or religion.

Those acquainted with history will require no specific confirmation of what is said here.

If any man requires proof of the Russian attitude toward Jews the news of the day will supply it.

Not only have the Jews in Russia been asked to let politics alone, but Rabbis have been compelled to announce in the synagogues that if Jews would keep out of political movements they would be left in peace.

In so many words the Russian government has said to the Jews:

" Keep your mouths shut. Acquiesce silently in our slave driving. Don't teach the peasant that he is any better than a brute, and you need fear no persecution."

But it is not in the Jew's nature to keep silent in the face of Russian oppression. The traveling Jew teaches the young peasant man and woman. The Jewish student leads thought and rebellion in the University; the Jew figures in every load of prisoners sent to Siberia for preaching the gospel of human rights. That is why the Russian government hates the Jew.

That is why you should take the side of the Russian Jew, if you have any of the American love of liberty.

The Jews in Russia are persecuted now because they talk in Russia as our forefathers talked here in 1776.

[*Inter Ocean, Chicago, Ill., May 19, 1903*]

RUSSIA AND THE JEWS

Amid all the cloud of charges and counter-charges arising out of the latest outbreak of Russian racial and religious hate of the Jews a few facts stand out with absolute clearness.

1. There was a riot at Kishineff directed against the Jews alone in which scores of them were put to death with every circumstance of atrocity, hundreds were injured, and immense amounts of property destroyed.

2. For months before this outbreak the leading newspaper of Bessarabia had been conducting an anti-Jewish campaign, and had been fostering exactly the spirit that was manifested in the conduct of the mob.

3. The general attitude of the Russian government toward the Czar's Jewish subjects, whatever excuses may be offered for it in economic conditions, for years has been such as to encourage in the Czar's Christian subjects the belief that Jews had no rights that Russians were bound to respect.

Whether the local authorities in Bessarabia really made no effort to control the mob—whether the Russian Minister of the Interior really directed the local authorities to content themselves with "admonitions" against mob violence, "without at all having recourse to the use of arms"—whether the Czar's government has been guilty of the cruel absurdity of forbidding the Jews to defend themselves against their actual and potential murderers—are questions upon which the evidence is so conflicting that no opinion can be expressed.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that the Kishineff atrocities could not have been prevented by suppressing the newspaper which all accounts agree fomented them.

And, taking into consideration the attitude for years past of the Russian government toward the Jews—the many repressive measures which it has directed against them—the hatred of them manifested in the highest official quarters—it is difficult to believe that the Russian bureaucracy was altogether guiltless of conniving at the outrages which have recently appalled civilized mankind.

To the ruling classes of Russia—to the men who make such public opinion as there is in that empire—has often been ascribed a deliberate purpose to drive or kill the Jews out of Russia. Such purpose is continually denied. But, curiously enough, those who deny it often in the next breath excuse it. The excuse is, in brief, that the Jew is too shrewd and thrifty, and that the Russian cannot contend with him, and must therefore drive him out as a measure of self-preservation.

Against such a policy—against a policy influenced by such sentiments—other nations have a right to protest, not only upon grounds of humanity, but also upon the practical ground that they are injured by having driven into them from Russia hordes of men not only plundered and destitute, but inspired with rage against all government by the treatment they have received from the Russian government.

Other nations have, however, this consolation in the trials to which they are subjected by Russian persecution of the Jews: In the long run Russia will lose and other nations will gain by the expulsion of the Czar's most industrious subjects to other countries.

[*Record-Herald, Chicago, Ill., May 16, 1903*]

RUSSIA'S CRIMES AGAINST THE JEW

Recent announcements of the extension of religious freedom in Russia are turned to cruel irony by the reports that are now coming in of the massacre of Jews in Kishineff, the chief city of the province of Bessarabia, which lies in the extreme southwestern part of the empire. The stories that are told of this national crime, whose cause is partly religious and racial and partly economic, recall the tortures practiced by savages, the dreadful atrocities of the dark ages, or shall we say the barbarities of Russians in China as late as 1900, when they equaled the most revolting records of the past through their worse than brutish conduct. Again there is the tearing of children limb from limb, mutilation as the preliminary to murder, the assaulting and slaying of women. Civilization must sicken at the recital, but let us hope that the sentiment of civilization will act as a powerful deterrent influence to prevent such horrors in the future.

The troubles of the Jews in Russia have been multiplying during the last twenty years. In 1881 a government inquiry was begun into the condition of these people who were confined to certain specified districts in the west and southwest, and it resulted in what is known as the May laws of 1882. Concerning them a writer on the persecution says:

> These laws which were so severe that hesitation was felt in applying them throughout the Pale, were supposed to be of only temporary application. They were known as laws for the time, and only came into full operation in 1890. The May laws define the Jews' duties to the state. These consist of military service and pecuniary contributions. In common with all Russians, Jews are subject to the law of conscription. Unlike Christians, they may not provide a substitute. They may not follow any trade or profession until they have produced evidence of registration in the recruiting district. While subject to military service Jews cannot rise higher than the rank of non-commissioned officer. The journal of statistics gives the proportion of Jews to the population as 3.95 per cent, whereas the percentage on the conscription roll is 5.80. * * * In December, 1890, Russians were forbidden to sell, lease or mortgage real estate to Jews throughout the empire, a measure hitherto applied only to Poland. Where Jews have acquired such property they will be compelled to dispose thereof. The Jewish artisans, apothecaries' assistants, dentists and midwives, with all apprentices, are to be expelled from all places outside the Pale. Exceptions to this are obtainable only by special permission from the minister of the interior. Even then the children of such must be removed to the Pale as soon as they come of age, or marry an unprivileged Jew.

This same writer describes the Pale of settlement as a hell of seething wretchedness. Its Jewish population, which is never free from abuse, numbers about 5,000,000 and comprises much the larger part of the Jewish population of the entire empire. It is true that in 1897 the laws were relaxed so that the Jews having a university education were allowed freedom of residence in any part of the country, but the reform can have had but a slight effect, and the masses are at the mercy of a bigoted officialdom and an exceptionally ignorant and degraded people. In the present instance it appears that the latter were excited by rumors of "ritual murders," and that while they plundered, killed and tortured the officials looked on approvingly, the police even acting as guides to the Jews' houses.

The situation is simply intolerable, and it explains the enormous emigration of Jews from Russia during late years. These wretched, downtrodden people come to us, just as their brethren came from Roumania, which is across the border from Bessarabia, and much the same provocation is given for a protest to the offending authorities in the one case that there was in the other. But of course neither this government nor any combination of outside governments can regulate the internal affairs of Russia, who can be affected only through the interest which the entire civilized world shows in her unfortunate victims. Appeals for the relief of the surviving sufferers deserve to meet with a generous response the world over, and they undoubtedly will.

[*Record-Herald, Chicago, Ill., May 24, 1903*]

RUSSIAN WITNESSES AGAINST RUSSIA

A fact of the highest significance in connection with the Kishineff massacre is that it has brought two famous Russians to the fore as witnesses against their own government and its agents. Count Tolstoi, we know, has had personal reasons for hating governmental tyranny, but in this instance it is natural sympathy for humanity that makes him rise above race prejudices and give his testimony. Under this impulse he expresses his aversion and disgust for "the so-called educated people who instigated the mob," and says: "Above all, I was horrified at the real culprit—namely, the government—with its foolish, fanatical priesthood and gang of robber officials. The Kishineff crime was a consequence of preaching lies and violence, which the government carries on with such stubborn energy."

The novelist, Maxim Gorki, writes also to the same effect. In a bitter denunciatory article, whose publication in Russia was prevented, he declares himself as follows:

It is well known that the mob at Kishineff was led by a man of cultivated society. But cultivated society in Russia is really much worse than the people. * * * The cultivated classes are a crowd of cowardly slaves, without feeling or personal dignity, ready to accept every lie to save their ease and comfort; a weak and lawless element, almost without conscience and without shame, in spite of its elegant exterior."

Members of these classes, he says, rejoiced over the murders. They esteem it a glory to be the lackeys of power. "These hypocrites with the name of God on their lips who preach in Russian society hatred of the Jews, Armenians and Finns; to-day heap base and cowardly calumnies upon the corpses of those killed through their influence and shamelessly continue their hateful work of poisoning the mind and feeling of the weak-willed Russian society."

No foreign comment has the force of these terrible arraignments, but in them there is convincing confirmation of all that foreigners have said. These Russian authors who speak out of the intimate experience of their daily lives reveal in fact with remarkable vividness the corruption, oppression, the savagery and superstition of their country. Unless Russia is to remain a byword and a hissing among the nations, a power morally unfit to associate with civilized powers, its government must completely revolutionize its barbarous policies.

[Record-Herald, Chicago, Ill., May 29, 1903]

THE AMERICAN PROTEST AGAINST RUSSIA

The great mass meeting held in New York to protest against the massacre of the Jews at Kishineff gave most effective expression to a feeling which Americans from Atlantic to Pacific equally share. The resolutions that the meeting adopted are in effect the resolutions of the American people, and Russia will make no mistake if she hears them as such.

The meeting did not, however, call upon our government to send an official note of protest to the Russian government. It felt with former President Cleveland, who was one of the speakers, that the propriety of such action was so far open to question that long and careful consideration should precede it.

It may well be, indeed, that such an expression of "sorrow and indignation" as was uttered at the meeting may have more influence upon Russia to lead her to protect the Jews in the future than the strongest note our diplomats might pen. The plain fact is that if we protest as a nation we cannot enforce our demands, while we may give offense, and so do more harm than good. Whereas, when we protest as a people through mass meetings and resolutions, Russia has no ground to take offense, while she learns just as indubitably of our feeling.

The people are masters of this government and Russia knows it. It is to the people, and not to any officials, that she must look for friendship if she wishes it. Our people have clearly laid down the terms on which they will continue to look upon Russia as a friend; they are the simple terms of humanity. If anything will prevail upon her, this will.

CLEVELAND, OHIO

[*Plain Dealer, Cleveland, O., May 20, 1903*]

COUNT CASSINI'S LAME EXCUSE

Count Cassini, Russian ambassador to the United States, is out with a long and lame apology for the Eastertide massacre of Jews by a Russian mob in Kishineff. He submits in the first place that the reports have been too highly colored. This may be admitted to be probable, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, but in considering such matters a margin for exaggeration is always allowed, and whatever the actual number of victims the affair can be regarded in no other light than a blot on Christian civilization. The ambassador does not dispute the essential fact of butchery. That this was carried out on a somewhat smaller scale than at first reported is not particularly important even if true.

The count further asserts that hatred of the Jews is not due to their religion but to their occupation. He claims that the Jew will not till the soil, but sets up as a money lender and usurer, thus getting the Russian peasant in his power, and that the massacre was a revolt against such exactions. It is not creditable to the ambassador to seek to give the impression that the Bessarabia horror was a little affair between debtor and creditor. Either he is strangely ignorant of the facts or supposes Americans to be.

The condition of the Jews in Bessarabia has been described by accepted authors. They do not substantiate the usury charge. The ignorant and superstitious peasantry have been inflamed by ridiculous fabrications about the sacrifice of children in Jewish rites, stories whose falsity has been repeatedly exposed. Moreover there was a certain element of labor trouble involved, for it was charged that Jewish workmen's guilds refused to act toward some members as ordered. Many causes have contributed to this fearful result and it will not do to say that the massacre was merely an attempt to get rid of burdensome debts by butchering the creditors.

The motive is not now of great importance. Whatever it was it could not have justified the crime. The Czar has shown how he regards it by ordering the removal of the governor of Bessarabia. He has done this, too, against the protest of the strong and reactionary bureaucratic faction. Such action cannot make amends for the outrage, but it shows, what no one has doubted, that the Czar personally will tolerate nothing of the kind. He has shown his displeasure but can do little more. He is, in fact, far from being the autocrat that is generally supposed. It has been shown repeatedly that the reactionary clique in government circles is more powerful than he. It is wholly likely to be so in this instance. The Czar's action can be regarded as but little more than an expression of personal opinion.

[*Plain Dealer, Cleveland, O., May 22, 1903*]

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE JEWS IN RUSSIA

The statement by Count Cassini that the massacre of the Jews at Kishineff was provoked by themselves, that "the Jew will not work in the fields or engage in agriculture;"

that "he prefers to be a money lender," and "in this capacity he takes advantage of the Russian peasant, whom he soon has in his power and ultimately destroys," has led to the publication of copious extracts from the official dispatch of Hon. Andrew D. White, when representing the United States at St. Petersburg in 1893, and from the "report of the commissioners of immigration upon the causes which incite immigration into the United States," which was transmitted to Congress in 1892. The conditions described in those official documents still exist and the reports conclusively dispose of the statements of Count Cassini regarding the status of the Jews in Rüssia.

Ambassador White's report was in reply to inquiries from Secretary of State Gresham as to the actual legal status of the Jews of Russia. Under date of July 5, 1893, after recounting the severe restrictions to which the Jews are subjected, he makes this statement which applies directly to Count Cassini's charge that they destroy the Russian peasant by lending him money at heavy interest:

> It is claimed that the Jews lend money to the peasants and others at enormous rates of interest. But it is pointed out in answer to this that sundry bankers and individuals in parts of Russia where no Jews are permitted have made loans at a much higher rate than Jews have ever ventured to do. While it is allowed that 100 per cent a year has not infrequently been taken by Israelites there seems to be no doubt of the fact that from 300 to 800 per cent, and even more sometimes, has been taken by Christians. This statement seems incredible, but it is unimpeachable. In a general way it is supported by the recent report of a Russian official to Mr. Sagonoff, and a leading journal of St. Petersburg, published under strict censorship, has recently given cases with names and dates when a rate higher than any above named was paid by Russian peasants to Christian money lenders.

Referring to the charge, repeated by Count Cassini, that the Jews will not work in the fields or engage in agriculture, the report of Ambassador White says:

> It is claimed that they will not work at agriculture, and, indeed, that they will do no sort of manual labor which they can avoid. But in answer it may be stated as a simple matter of history . . . that even if they are allowed here and there (referring to the government colonies) to till the land, they

are not allowed in the part of the empire which they most inhabit, to buy it, or even to farm it, and that thus the greatest incentive to labor is taken away. As to other branches of manual labor, simply as a matter of fact, there are very large bodies of Jewish artisans in Poland, numbering about one-half of the entire adult male Israelite population. Almost every branch of manual labor is represented among them, and well represented. As stone masons they have an especially high reputation, and it is generally conceded that in sobriety, capacity and attention to work, they fully equal their Christian rivals.

Of the report of the commissioners of immigration, to which reference has been made, Ambassador White said in his dispatch, "I must confess that when I first read this report, its statements seemed to me exaggerated, or, at least, overcolored, but it is with very great regret that I say that this is no longer my opinion."

The United States commissioners of immigration and diplomatic representative at St. Petersburg had no motive for misrepresentation and they made their official reports after careful investigation. The Russian ambassador at Washington is naturally anxious to defend the reputation of his country and its authorities. There should be no difficulty in determining which testimony most deserves credit.

[*Plain Dealer, Cleveland, O., June 1, 1903*]

ANOTHER RUSSIAN CONFESSION

The Russian government has acknowledged at once its guilt and its weakness by expelling from St. Petersburg the correspondent of The London Times, who told all the details that were "fit for publication" about the enormities perpetrated by the Russian mob upon the Jews of Kishineff. This touch of Orientalism gives added force to Kipling's acute observation that Russia, while considering herself the most easterly of European nations, is in reality only the most westerly of Orientals. In only Russia and Turkey could such a policy of suppression and exclusion obtain.

But in the Russia of the twentieth century it is no longer possible to suppress the facts about events of world-wide interest. Even in the land of the Czar communication is easy and rapid and the truth is certain to leak out. Severe as the Russian censorship is, travel cannot be stopped and all mail cannot be intercepted. Sooner or later a mass of evidence was bound to be accumulated that would condemn the Russian government in the eyes of the world.

It would seem that even a Russian bureaucrat must recognize a self-evident truth, yet the course adopted was ridiculous in its short-sighted folly. The facts about Kishineff could not be concealed, yet an attempt was made to minimize them and the United States ambassador to Russia was made the medium through which a half denial was sent from St. Petersburg. Russia's ambassador at Washington also did what he conceived to be his duty by "pooh-poohing" the early reports. Could Russia have had her way the world would have known nothing of the Kishineff horror and had it been possible the Czar's government would have carried out that policy to the end.

COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

[*State, Columbia, S. C., May 18, 1903*]

THE TRAGEDY OF RUSSIA

Later reports sustain the early accounts of the massacre of Jews at Kishineff, in southern Russia, and the affair will be recorded as one of the blackest incidents in history. The New York Sun well says: "The blackest chapter in the history of Christianity is the cruelty of so-called Christians to the race of Jesus Christ. The worst medieval persecutions are equaled or exceeded by this Kishineff massacre. Murder and mutilation, robbery, outrage, exile; these are the penalties of the crime of being a Jew in southern Russia." The persecution of the race from which the Christ came is one of the anomalies of history, whether past or present. It has been done in all subsequent ages and in all countries by the professed followers of Him who taught that vengeance is the Lord's.

This latest outburst of cruelty against the Jews has occurred in the realm of that ruler who has sought to establish a permanent peace among the Christian nations of the world. No other two things could be as wide apart as the professions upon which the Czar called the peace conference at The Hague and these atrocities in his own country. Personally the Emperor of Russia, perhaps, should not be held responsible for the contradiction between the fanatical deeds of his ignorant subjects and his own philanthropic desires, yet the divergence does demonstrate how far from being truly Christianized the world is to-day.

Russia is rich and powerful, a potent factor in the politics of the world, able to influence nations and to determine national destines, and yet these barbarous persecutions occur in Russia's domains and the people of this distant republic are being asked to succor the suffering and the helpless in Kishineff! Would that the Czar might convert his own people! Bound down with traditions and customs, guarded and gagged by an unyielding bureaucracy, himself physically and mentally weak though of good impulses, he is practically helpless.

And so Russia stands out to-day a tragedy in the book of nations. A ruler wise, good and strong at once is what she needs to lead her on to a great destiny.

DENVER, COLORADO

[*Rocky Mountain News, Denver, Colo., May 20, 1903*]

THE MASSACRE OF JEWS

The Russian province of Bessarabia, whereof Kishineff is the capital, and whereon the eyes of the world are centered because of the massacre of Jews, is situated in extreme southwestern Russia, being bounded on the southeast by the Black Sea and on the west by Austria. Unlike the more northerly portions of Russia, it is densely populated, the total number of inhabitants being about 1,600,000, living on an area of less than 18,000 square miles. At the same ratio of population to area, Colorado would have a population of nearly 10,000,000 persons.

The thickly packed population is one of those extraordinary mixtures of races to be found in southeastern Europe only. For centuries Bessarabia was the eastern rampart of the Roman empire. The wall of Trajan traverses its northern portion. Since time immemorial nation after nation has flowed over it like a tide. The successive swarms of nomads that swept down on the Byzantine empire trampled it on their rush to victory or their retreat from defeat. Each of these inundations left a residuum in the population, though its basic stratum seems to remain the descendants of the ancient Dacians.

Bessarabia was part of the Turkish empire until 1812, when it was ceded to Russia. Various alterations took place in its limits and government during the changes of the last century, but in 1878 it became definitely a part of Russia. Its northern portion is fruitful in agricultural products and the southern portion is mainly woodland.

The people are primitive. The majority of them cling to the practices of the Greek church, and there is a sprinkling of Mohammedans and about 100,000 Jews.

A people who still use the agricultural implements and methods of centuries ago, are still buried in the prejudices of those centuries. The Jew is an object of hatred, because he keeps to himself, observes his own rules and worships his God in his own way. Persecuted by one generation after another, whether under the rule of Turkey, Roumania or Russia, he is compelled to conceal what property he may have, and out of that concealment of little grow stories, told in whispers, of great wealth hidden. Ignorant peasants and woodchoppers, themselves buried in superstition, are ready to credit any fables, however wild, of a race that proudly holds fast to its distinct identity.

Only a match was needed to touch off this magazine of racial and religious hatred. The statement of Lord Cranborne, in the British House of Commons, yesterday, makes clear the origin of the murders and cruelties at Kishineff. A false charge was made that the death of a lad was due to a Jew, and attacks were made on Jews. They sought to defend themselves, and immediately a brutal population rose against them, slaughtering at least 100 and wounding and maiming many more, besides committing nameless outrages against helpless women and children and destroying property.

The cables this morning announce that the Czar is so deeply moved by this crime that he has administered punishment. He has dismissed the governor. Think how adequately this makes amends for violated homes, for bodies lying in the streets and denied burial, and for gutters running ankle deep in blood.

The United States has long held to what is called the "traditional" friendship with Russia, but unless the Russian government mends its ways and the masses of the Russian people become a little less like savages, the traditional friendship is little honor to us, and soon will be a thing of the past. The United States will not stand before the world clasping the hand of a nation which pretends to be civilized but which persecutes the Jews as cruelly as Christians were persecuted by a Nero or a Diocletian.

The public feeling of this country will be gratified if our government will make frank representation to the Russian government of the detestation in which the American people hold the murderous and cruel acts which it permits. The judgment which compels us to class the earlier Caesars as blood-thirsty tyrants will compel us to class the Czars with them unless the light is permitted to penetrate into darkest Russia.

DES MOINES, IOWA

[*News, Des Moines, Ia., May 28, 1903*]

THE CZAR'S BELATED ORDER

The welcome news has been published to the world that the Czar has ordered his people to cease persecuting the Jews.

Why Nicholas, who is generally credited with having a kindly spirit, did not issue that order long ago has been a matter of wonder to thousands.

The fact that motives of humanity had nothing to do with its issuance at this late date will tend to cause these people to alter their opinion of the autocrat.

The dispatches state that Jewish financial magnates in London, Paris and Berlin brought pressure to bear upon Russia to prevent further outrages of this kind.

The Russian Minister of Finance Witte informed the Czar that if more Jew baiting took place it would prove disastrous to Russia's finances.

Then the Czar issued the order.

Russia is ambitious. She is aggressive. Her purpose is to drive the Turk from Europe and take his lands and seaports.

Constantinople is the Mecca of Russian diplomacy and intrigue.

Peter the Great on his deathbed enjoined upon all his successors the duty of accomplishing this purpose.

Russia's aggressions in Manchuria, her operations in Persia are for the purpose of strengthening herself at the expense of England, whose interests in Egypt and the Suez canal would be jeopardized by the former's acquisition of the Bosphorus.

For the same reason she is friendly to France and maintains a non-committal attitude toward the United States.

But to accomplish all this her financial system must remain intact.

It was because his foreign policy was threatened that the Czar issued his order prohibiting the baiting of Jews.

It was not the Czar's humanity, but his animal propensities, that prompted the order.

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

[*Evening News, Detroit, Mich., May 25, 1903*]

A WEAK CZAR AND A STRONG ANTI-SEMITE MINISTER

The present is hardly a time for a reasonable consideration of the attitude of Russia toward the Jews. Every utterance is proof that human passions are too turbulent as yet to consider all its aspects dispassionately.

Hebrews all over the world are justly indignant over the recent massacre at Kishineff, Russia. All they can say in execration of a government which allows such horrors as have been committed is entirely justifiable. There is no question but there is a fanatical religious element which is struggling to make the state religion the universal faith, to oppress all other religionists but those of the Greek orthodox church. This element has for its head one of the ablest, most ruthless and intolerant of all the Russian ministers. the procurator of the holy synod, K. P. Pobyedonostseff. He and his policy belong to an age that is past. He seems to entertain the fatuous belief that an absolute despotism, in which the civil ruler is made the nominal head of a hierarchy, can dominate by force over spiritual as well as temporal affairs. That many will die for their faith makes little difference to a man of this type. He would harass heretics without compunction, and would stop at little in his determination to coerce Jews, Lutherans, Roman Catholics and other religious sects other than the Greek church.

The Czar appears to be a man of kind heart and actuated by altruistic motives. A natural question is: Why does he not carry into effect his good intentions? He could order the governor of Kishineff, the local military authorities and all the leaders in the outrages off to the Siberian mines, or to the island of Saghalien, for life. Why does he not do it? That would be a reasonable question if the present Czar had the characteristics of Peter the Great and perhaps one or two other Czars, who ruled as well as reigned. The present Czar is a man of delicate constitution. He is the victim of a nervous disease which robs him of the stamina that is needed by any man who would be a real autocrat. He grew up in an atmosphere of terror. His grandfather, the emancipator of 20,000,000 serfs, was blown to pieces by an explosive bomb when the present Czar was a lad of 12 years. His father was under constant menace of death and had hundreds of hairbreadth escapes. In some respects the Czar resembles Louis XVI, a weak, amiable, well-meaning scion of more rugged stock, who has fallen heir to problems not of his own creation, and which he may not be able to solve. It is easy to see how such a monarch may be dominated by an ecclesiastic of great energy. Nicholas associated with Pobyedonostseff, might be like Louis XIII with Richelieu and Mazarin. The fact that he is a man of religious tendencies and of high ideals would make him peculiarly susceptible to clerical persuasion that is eager to crush the Lutherans in Finland and the Jews everywhere.

JANESVILLE, WISCONSIN

[*Gazette, Janesville, Wis., May 29, 1903*]

RUSSIAN PROBLEM

Russia is to-day confronted by one of the most perplexing problems that any nation has faced since the Spaniards expelled the Moors and all their wealth from Spain centuries ago. Spain sank from a first-class power among the nations of Europe into a second rate kingdom from that time on. It was at the zenith of its glory until the cruel mandate was passed which made the richest portion of its citizens outcasts upon the face of the earth, and drove from its shores their wealth and thrift. Russia to-day is doing a similar act. It is driving from its cities the Jews—Jews who have the money of Russia, who are the money lenders, the money savers. It is making these people homeless wanderers. It is driving old men from the homes of their childhood into the world to find a new resting-place for their aching bones. It is breaking up families and reducing to almost penury the rich men of yesterday. The world looks on. The world does not approve but diplomacy does not allow it to make more than a feeble protest.

It is not the Czar who is doing this. It is not the Little Father who has ordered this awful sacrifice of human lives but the cunning of his ministers who are behind it. It is a question to those acquainted with the intrigues of the European courts whether the Czar himself knows of the atrocities that have been committed. It is a question if he ever will realize just what has gone on ostensibly in his name and by his order. Russia is great. Russia is powerful, Russia is grasping, but it would look as if she had overstepped the mark this time, and had played the wrong card. To expel the Jews means to expel the rich men of the country. Thrifty, saving even to usury for loans, these people have given to Russia, more real market value than she appreciates. Her loans of the past years have all come from Jewish bankers in Berlin, Paris and London. These bankers are looking for investments, and have been amply secured by the Russian securities, but they will cease to even accept that when their fellow-countrymen are driven out and are killed and slaughtered by police and mobs, without a word of protest from the government. Russia is making a mistake. Perhaps when too late she will realize it. Ever a purse-proud nation, ever grasping and seeking for more territories and more subjects, she is driving out the sinews of its war power. It is not always the soldier who wins the battles but it is the tax-payer who stays at home and pays the salaries, and raises the crops to nourish the soldier that helps. This the Jew has done, and if driven out, a mighty source of revenue will be stricken from the list and the peasant class will be made to suffer the more. Russia conquered Poland and has kept it under its iron heel ever since. Oppression and subjection is a part of the Russian policy and the present instance is no surprise to those who have watched the grasping country in the past.

LA CROSSE, WISCONSIN

[*Leader, La Crosse, Wis., May 21, 1903*]

HELP REBUKE THE CZAR

The movement for the relief of the stricken Jews in Russia, which will be inaugurated by the Jewish residents of this city next Sunday, is one that should enlist the sympathy and cordial co-operation of every citizen in La Crosse, regardless of creed or nationality. While it is indubitably true, as has been pointed out in the dispatches from Washington, that this government has no right under the law of nations, to interfere in behalf of those who are being subjected to such horrible indignities at the hands of the Czar's hirelings, such a meeting as the one proposed will have the effect of adding weight to the great wave of public indignation that is sweeping over the country and is making itself felt within the walls of the autocrat who must and will be held responsible for the atrocities that have been committed within his realm.

Almost from time immemorial Jew baiting has been a favorite pastime with the Russian. A thrifty, energetic, farseeing race, whose habits of industry and commercial acumen have raised them to affluence, their prosperity has been envied by their Slavic neighbors, too sodden with drink and too bestial by nature to take any thought for the morrow. To these fiends in human form, the Jew has for years been an easy victim. He has been despoiled of all his possessions, his wife and daughters outraged, his houses looted, his temples profaned, and he himself driven out a wanderer over the face of the earth. Then, reassured by promises which those who made them never intended to keep, he has returned and builded yet another home, only to be despoiled as before. This in a few words epitomizes the history of the Jew in Russia and there is little hope that his condition will be ameliorated until a radical change is made in the conditions under which he is living.

The statement of the Russian ambassador at Washington that the recent outbreak is a conflict between the money lenders and the peasants whom they have impoverished will find credence with but few in this country. The people who dwell in the United States are too well informed in regard to the true condition of affairs in Russia to attach much weight to this explanation, no matter how plausible it may appear on the surface. Even granting it to be true, it shows the inherent weakness of the Czar's government and is itself its own accuser. There are laws in Russia—there is never any trouble in putting them into operation when the life of the Czar is even remotely menaced—for the protection of its people, and they are administered by and for the benefit of the Russians themselves. To suppose that an alien race and particularly one so hated and feared as are the Jews, will be allowed to oppress the natives is quite beyond belief.

Even though the Jews be the aggressors, as is charged by the Russian ambassador, it does not follow that they ought to be shot down like dogs, their bodies mutilated, their women dishonored, their children tortured and their possessions stolen from them.

That the Czar and his ministers are not indifferent to American sentiment was demonstrated when the press of this country united in protesting against Russia's occupation of Manchuria, contrary to the pledges that had been given to this and other nations. If we may not lawfully interfere in behalf of those who are being persecuted, we may at least give voice to a protest against the barbarity that is being exhibited by the Czar and his minions, so loud and so forceful that he will be obliged to hear it whether he wishes or not. There is no law against that.

LINCOLN, NEBRASKA

[*Evening News, Lincoln, Neb., May 20, 1903*]

RUSSIAN ATROCITIES

The Jews are citizens of every nation of the globe. Zion has no political boundary, but the people of Zion are homogeneous. They have kept the ancient type, the old religion, the ancient family customs and rites. All other nations with ground and a recognized local habitation, intermarry with other nations; they have no distinct national likeness. The Jews have preserved the type without change from the time of Abraham to the present day. They have been sifted over the other nations of the earth as meal is sifted over fruit. The Jews have slipped into whatever cranny was most convenient, but without becoming a part of the cranny. They were a separate and distinct people in Egypt. They are a separate and distinct people in Russia.

The persecution of the Jews in Russia is an affront, nevertheless, to every nation on the globe. For a large fraction of the citizens of every nation are Jews, tax-paying, orderly, literate Jews. It is said that the United States has no right to interfere. Members of the same family protect each other, and this primeval right was worked into the constitution of man before the acorns of the oaks, which were cut up to build the Mayflower, dropped from the parent limb. The millions of good Jews in America give the United States a natural and inherent right to protest against the Russian persecution of the Jews.

[*Evening News, Lincoln, Neb., May 25, 1903*]

Those acquainted with him say that Ambassador Cassini is an old-fashioned diplomat. Ambassadors of the Machiavellian type believe it their duty and a part of patriotism to mislead the government to which they are accredited in regard to the state of things at home. According to Talleyrand, language is an instrument for the concealment of thought, and M. Cassini, Russian Ambassador to the United States, is a disciple of this perishing school of diplomacy. A former Secretary of State always refused to converse with M. Cassini on matters of state unless there was a stenographer in the room instructed to take down a verbatim report of what guest and host said to each other.

In consequence of any stories current in Washington concerning his devotion to Russia and his diplomat's creed, M. Cassini's explanation of the Russian atrocities has but little effect. He reproached the Jews in Russia with being money lenders and excessive usurers and said they never resorted to the land for support. As a matter of fact, there are 200,000 farmers in Russia who were settled on the land before the Czar's edict forbidding Jews to own and operate farms was issued. M. Cassini explained the hatred of the Russian peasant for the Jews by saying that the latter were always money lenders, who exacted as interest all the money the peasant had and that their settlement in a neighborhood meant its final devastation and abandonment by the homeless peasantry. The old prejudice against the Jew as a money lender, which is older than the " Merchant of Venice," was stirred by these words of the Russian minister. The people concluded that the Jew was at his old tricks again and that his impoverished and desperate clients had killed him to revenge injustice and oppression.

The trouble with a false statement is that it forever fails to harmonize with the real facts in the case. It is claimed by the Jews that the persecution is altogether the result of racial hatred and religious bigotry. The rabbis have been murdered pitilessly and the synagogues have been desecrated and despoiled. It has been easy for merchants and money lenders to escape. If the pawnshop keepers had been the cause of the massacre the shops would have been attacked and their proprietors dragged out and murdered. On the contrary, it was the aged rabbis whose white heads were desecrated by a mob of fanatics. A lie can only be of service to a man with an unblemished reputation for telling the truth. That is the trouble with the Machiavellian school of diplomats. Their fairy tales are of no service to the home government, because the author has established a reputation. All that his auditors can be certain of is that he is not telling the truth and it is sometimes serviceable to know what is not true. In this case M. Cassini by accusing him has relieved the money-lending Jew from the responsibility of being the cause of his countrymen's death.

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

[Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky.]

PROTEST OF CIVILIZATION

Day by day reports from many parts of the world disclose civilization's horror at the latest outrages upon the Jews of Bessarabia.

A lover of his kind is amazed that in this year of 1903 men are slaughtered, women dishonored and children made martyrs, their homes invaded and pillaged, all for no fault of their own, and for no offense in themselves, save that they are Jews and as such are the pitiful objects of traditional prejudice, baseless passion and revengeful hatred.

And this, too, in a land whose government holds international relationship with civilized countries and among a people pretending the practice of a Christian religion.

The apology for these atrocities, offered in an interview by Cassini, the Russian Ambassador to the United States, is not worthy of patient consideration.

It is not credible that forty thousand Jews of Bessarabia, men, women and children, or any considerable number of them, are possessed of the wealth to be money lenders, or if so that they could in Russia practice any oppression upon their neighbors. They are mechanics in every permitted employment, artisans in every craft not forbidden to them, toilers every one of them, and yet we are told that they are usurers and as such "oppress the sweaty faces of the poor." Money to lend at usury would also be money to buy protection of the base Russian official, or at least the means to leave the land of oppression, and the Jew possessing money, massacre would be cheated of its victim within the pale of the Czar.

But it is not the Jew alone who is concerned. Christianity as a world beneficence, to justify its existence and fulfil the beautiful teachings of its founder, must abhor the act, condemn the perpetrators and so far as lies in its power, right the fearful and appalling crime.

Civilization protests, not because of the few thousand Jews who have suffered thus, but because human beings have been savagely maltreated and crushed, and this solely because they stand for something different from, if not higher and better than, their semi-barbarous neighbors.

To men of every faith and race, it is a brother's blood that cries from the ground, unless it be that all our professions of a common humanity are lies, and our civilization but the tinsel and ornament of savages.

The protest should come, and is coming, from all true men, such a protest as will reach even the dull ear of the unfeeling Muscovite.

[*Evening Post, Louisville, Ky., July 21, 1903*]

THE AMERICAN PROTEST AGAINST JEWISH MASSACRES

While by decision of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay the American protest against the Kishineff massacre will not formally go to the Russian government, it has in reality gone with far more than the effect would have been the case if the Cabinet at St. Petersburg had been given an opportunity to refuse to receive it.

It has been proclaimed in the sight of the whole world that the American nation and the American President regret and deplore the said tragedy in the town of Southern Russia, and that the American government was ready to register a solemn protest against horrors of this kind, and the American people were all moved by the cruelties practiced towards a race, who, in this country, at least, has never shown signs of disloyalty, but numbers among its members thousands of the best and most useful citizens of the republic.

At a time when the other nations of the world, even Great Britain, whose ill-feeling toward Russia is traditional and almost proverbial, stood back and were afraid to utter even the slightest sentiment of disapproval, when diplomatic precedents choked even the most natural expressions of humanity, the government of the United States came forward and took a position that will not soon be forgotten or disregarded. Back of the protest which President Roosevelt desired to send to St. Petersburg was the universal sentiment of the American people. It was not confined entirely to the Jewish race, but was approved by the nation, regardless of creed, of race or of former political affiliations.

The mere filing of such a protest was of necessity purely formal. It was never anticipated that either the Czar or any of his officers, would read over the long list of signatures to the protest or even consider the text of the communication. All that was of any importance was the fact that the American government signified its willingness to send such a protest, that it went on record at a time when all other nations were silent, that the President was neither ashamed nor afraid to express his sympathy for a race persecuted without reason. It is known to-day in Berlin, in Paris, in Vienna, as well as in St. Petersburg, that the American government did take such a position, and the moral effect is more than that of ten actually delivered petitions.

Some weak, abortive efforts have been made to neutralize the effect of the action of our government by setting up the claim that Russia has just the same right to protest against the lynching of black men in this country as we have to object to the murder of Jews in Russia. This claim has been supported with more or less favor by newspapers hostile to the administration, who would be glad to sacrifice the Jews of Russia or the demands of humanity, if they could turn a point against the administration at Washington.

The cases are so dissimilar that it is hardly necessary to argue the point. In nearly all cases where lynchings take place in America it is an expiation for some terrible crime; the Jews in Russia were murdered for no reason other than they were frugal and industrious among a sodden and idle peasantry, who were jealous of their prosperity. The blacks of America have no kinsmen in Russia; there are thousands of Jews in this country, many of whom have immigrated here direct from Russia. The Kishineff massacre was committed under the very eyes of the Russian authorities; it seems to have been almost connived at; the lynchings of America are deplored and condemned by governmental authority, and will be checked if possible.

The whole matter was handled at Washington with that delicate diplomacy which has always characterized the official actions of Mr. Hay, and a friendly nation has been spared an actual humiliation that might have engendered permanent ill-feeling. But under the velvet glove of Mr. Hay was the strong hand of the President, and the lesson he has taught the timid governments of the Old World will not soon be forgotten.

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

[*News, Milwaukee, Wis., May 14, 1903*]

THE RUSSIAN MASSACRES

The frightful massacre of Jews in Russia has aroused the horror of the civilized nations. It is an outcropping of medieval barbarism that brings the enlightened religious tolerance of to-day face to face with the bloody persecutions of the dark ages.

It seems unthinkable that those that profess to believe in the teachings of the meek and lowly Nazarene should be guilty of such damnable crimes, yet the soil of Europe has been saturated with the blood of countless thousands that have been slain in the name of Christ, the prince of peace. Christianity found Rome tolerant of every sect and religious belief. There even was a shrine to "the unknown God." Though all other faiths had escaped persecution, its refusal to tolerate other beliefs brought upon it the persecutions that have made the name of Nero a synonym for cruelty. When it attained power, when the Roman emperors adopted the Christian faith, it turned with unrelenting fury upon those that refused to accept its teachings. It countenanced neither Jew nor heretic. There is nothing in the teachings of Christ to incite persecution, yet from the very beginning of Christianity down to the present time it has invited persecution or has persecuted.

The scenes that are being enacted in Russia to-day, were once common throughout Europe. The Jews were driven from post to pillar. They were despoiled, robbed, their daughters dishonored and when the fury of the mob broke loose, they were massacred, their property destroyed and their homes left in ruin. These very things are being done in Russia to-day. The civilized world stands aghast.

The horror that the massacre of the Jews in Russia has excited throughout the civilized world is eloquent of the passing of superstition, fanaticism, ignorance, bigotry and hatred. Russia stands where all Europe stood when America was discovered. The progress that has been made may be judged by comparing the foremost nations of the world with the land of the Czar. The materialism of the twentieth century is far from reaching the ideal, but who is there that would return to "the age of faith" as exemplified to-day in darkest Russia?

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

[*Evening Journal, Minneapolis, Minn., May 19, 1903*]

ANTI-SEMITISM IN RUSSIA

Doubtless there are some exaggerations in the reports which came from Kishineff and Odessa touching the massacres of Jews at the former place, but, after making allowance for excited imaginations and the natural tendency of bad news to increase its bulk as it travels, it must be admitted that Russia has gained the unenviable distinction of beating the modern record of the exploits of the Jew-baiters. In medieval times, as when the fanatical Crusaders under Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless fired the hearts of their rabble to butcher the Jews at Treves, such tragical excesses of fanaticism were common. The civilized world should have outgrown such murderous prejudices.

Count Cassini, the Russian Ambassador at Washington, yesterday tried to show that there is not a particle of prejudice against the Jew in Russia because of religion. The prejudice exists because the Jewish money lenders, by excessive extortion in interest rates, ruin the peasants, but it is reported from Odessa that it is beyond doubt that the mob which attacked the Jews at Kishineff was an organized band led by educated people. The fact is that, while the Jewish money lender in Russia is chargeable with extortion as when, during the Russo-Turkish war, he loaned his money to the families of soldiers at high rates of interest, and was punished for it by the soldiers who, on their return from the war, incited mobs against the race, the motive of Jew-baiting is heavily weighted with religious and theological prejudice. In Russia to-day, as in medieval times, the adherents of the established church are trained in bigotry.

Little over twenty years ago in Germany, there occurred a violent anti-Semitic agitation on the ground that Germany was becoming Judaized, and the depression in commerce and agriculture from which Germany was suffering was attributable to the money accumulations of the Jews, and the whole race was bitterly anathematized and popular prejudice was excited against them. Bismarck himself quietly stimulated the movement, while the representatives of the highest learning and intelligence in the empire condemned the movement and shamed the anti-Semites out of their scheme by appealing to the great Jewish names in German literature. The Jewish bankers of Berlin are indispensable business adjuncts of the Empire, as those of Paris are indispensable to the French Republic.

Russia has not outgrown the racial and theological prejudice against the Jew. The alleged high-minded and liberal Czar did not, after all, include the Jew in his toleration edict. The pale must be maintained. The Jew must be hedged in. He is still the "dog of a Jew" of the grand inquisitor of medieval times, while other countries are outgrowing medieval prejudices and discovering and admitting that the Jew does not stand upon an inferior moral level to themselves, and that in literature, science and art, as well as in commerce and finance, the Jew occupies a conspicuous and influential position.

Our Government has been called upon to take some action in behalf of the Russian Jews. Shall it protest against the Kishineff massâcre as inhuman and uncivilized? Russia may retort by sending back a long and ghastly list of the burnings of negroes at the stake, surrounded by approving men and women, and say: "Physician, heal thyself and mind your own morals!" Shall our Government protest on the ground that the Russian Judenhetze will dump upon this country shiploads of impecunious immigrants? Our State Department did that as to Roumania, but there is no evidence, as yet, that Roumanian anti-Semitic prejudice has abated a particle. Can we force either Roumania or Russia to be compassionate to the Jews? Hardly.

[*Evening Journal, Minneapolis, Minn., June 16, 1903*]

IN BEHALF OF RUSSIAN JEWS

The interview of the Executive Council of the great Jewish organization, B'nai B'rith, which stands for Jewish sentiment in this country, with the President and Secretary of State, yesterday, at Washington, with reference to intervention in behalf of the Russian Jews by our Government was, as might be supposed, fruitless in such results as the American Jews desire.

The President and Secretary Hay received the deputation most cordially and made very sympathetic speeches, the President citing examples of the effectiveness of the Jewish policemen in New York, as known to him through his experience when one of the Police Commissioners of that city. Both gentlemen explained that nothing could be done at present, and that our Government could not assume that the Czar is not doing all that is in his power, as "a lover of peace and religious tolerance" (Secretary Hay), to put a stop to such atrocities as the Kishineff massacre and punish the guilty.

The President told the delegation of the visit of Count Cassini, the Russian Ambassador, to the White House, where he declared that the Czar had already removed the Governor of Kishineff and had ordered the arrest of several hundred of the participants in the outrages. Mr. Hay commended the harried Russian Jews to God and said that, "He who watches over Israel does not slumber and that the wrath of man, now, as so often in the past, shall be made to praise Him." This is well and piously said, but the B'nai B'rith gentlemen would rather have the sympathy with some aggression in it. Not a Jew in the delegation believed that Count Cassini spoke the truth, or is often capable of speaking otherwise than in strictly diplomatic language, which a masterly diplomat once said was language intended to conceal the truth. Cassini's statement of alleged fact does not seem to have any currency in Russia. The Count's deliverances on the subject of Manchuria have proven so contradictory, even when made to our Government in an official way, that dubiety must attach to any other statement he may make. The B'nai B'rith deputation desired our Government to promote unofficially or semiofficially, a petition to the Czar in behalf of the amelioration of the present intolerable condition of the Russian Jews, as his own subjects, or to issue a circular note to the civilized powers embodying an invitation to attend an international conference to consider persecutions and oppressions growing out of religious prejudices and hatred, and adopt means for international concord preventing such persecutions. The President has promised to take these suggestions into consideration.

The experience of our Government in making the mildest kind of suggestions to Russia and Roumania, the chief Jew-baiting nations of Europe since Germany's fierce anti-Semitic fury cooled down, is not encouraging for further action. Roumania has not paid the slightest attention to Secretary Hay's request that there be an abatement of Jew-baiting on the ground that the persecution was driving to this country a kind of immigration not desired. Russia has officially suggested in plain words that her internal troubles are within her own province, and that she would not tolerate outside interference with these domestic affairs. The head of the Russian Police Department so stated officially the other day. As the European powers declined to interfere with the Turkish amusement of slaughtering Armenian Christians by the tens of thousands without lifting a finger to stop the deadly work, it is not likely that they would promote an international congress designed for unity of interference in the interest of the Jews. But such occurrences as the Kishineff massacres have startled the civilized world and invoked a most serious contemplation of the iniquity of religious and racial hatred and intolerance in an age boasting of its higher intelligence and humane spirit, and which is more and more coming under the influence of the highest Christian and philosophic teachings as to the brotherhood of the human race and rejecting the medieval theory of the mental and moral inferiority of the Jew. Even Russia can be reached in these latter days by the pressure of a well-defined public opinion against such blind and cruel prejudices as the Kishineff massacre suggests, expressed through the outside civilized world.

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

[*Advertiser, Newark, N. J., June 2, 1903*]

A MEETING OF PROTEST

Three members of the Ministerial Association of Newark and vicinity have been appointed as a committee to wait upon Mayor Doremus and ask his opinion as to the advisability of calling a public meeting to take action regarding the recent massacre of Jews at Kishineff, in Russia. It was the opinion of the clergymen present that the meeting should not be based upon religion, but should be a concrete expression of the horror that has been aroused throughout the civilized world at the atrocities perpetrated against an inoffensive and law-abiding people.

Although the disturbances in southwestern Russia are now past and the Government seems disposed to be contrite over the affair, there is no knowing when the smouldering fires will break out again. The implacable animosity which exists in the Czar's dominions against the Jews is impossible for Americans to understand, but that it is there cannot be doubted. It is fostered by the anti-Semitic party, the leaders of which circulate the most preposterous tales among the ignorant Christian peasants, which arouse them to intense fury. The Cossack soldiers love nothing better than wholesale butchery and rapine, so they lend themselves readily to the extension of the propaganda.

As this constant fermentation is bound to continue, it is just as well for America to let Russia know her feelings in the matter, and the more the larger cities of the country proclaim their detestation of such practices, the quicker the semi-barbarous Muscovites will be brought to a realizing sense of their errors. Russia seeks no quarrel with the United States just now and cannot afford to resent criticism and adverse comment. For this reason a public meeting in this city will be a good thing, as it will add another voice to the chorus of disapproval which has been heard ere this in the palace at St. Petersburg.

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

[*Item, New Orleans, La., May 31, 1903*]

PROTEST AGAINST THE JEWISH MASSACRE

From all parts of the country is going up an earnest protest against the outrages inflicted upon the Bessarabian Jews by the Russians. In his admirable speech at the New York meeting, Mr. Cleveland said that our protest will not be lessened if we require indubitable proof before we accuse the government of Russia of guilty complicity in the crimes committed within her borders. He added very wisely: "It seems to me that we may well consider the proper relationship between nations before we demand too pronounced interference on the part of our government."

It is a delicate matter to lecture a foreign government as to its conduct towards its own people, and it would be a dangerous matter to threaten interference. It is true that this nation protested in the case of Greece and also in the case of Hungary. We not only protested but interfered in the more recent case of Cuba. These, however, were exceptional cases. The history of Greece appealed to the sympathy of the whole world, and the eloquence of Kossuth, who was struggling for a republic, swept Congress off its feet. In those cases a homogeneous people with definite boundaries were fighting against arbitrary government by alien races. The case of Cuba was entirely distinct, as our interests in the Gulf were being endangered.

The Jews constitute but a small part of the Russian population and are amenable to the laws of the governing race. But still they are entitled to humane treatment, and such an incident as the murders at Kishineff, committed so openly and with the apparent connivance of the authorities, justifies an earnest protest from all civilized nations.

Even if Russian authorities did not connive at these outrages, it is a fact that they are directly traceable to Russian laws, which oppress the Jews brutally. These laws are a disgrace to a great nation.

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It would be entirely proper for New Orleans not only to subscribe in aid of the sufferers through the committee that has been named by our Jewish fellow-citizens, but to join with other cities in a firm protest against the conduct of Russia. Several Western Senators have already interviewed Secretary Hay, urging him to express the voice of the United States in this matter. Our Louisiana Senators should be asked to join in an expression of horror at Russian barbarities towards an inoffensive and peaceful people. This State has not forgotten that one of her ablest Senators, Benjamin, took his place among lords and princes after a most brilliant career in the United States Senate, and that this city is now represented by Gen. Meyer, another of the same religious faith. It would be singularly appropriate for New Orleans to add her voice to that of New York and other cities.

[*Picayune, New Orleans, La., June 13, 1903*]

TO PROTEST AGAINST RUSSIAN ATROCITIES

This evening at the Crescent Theatre will be held a mass meeting of citizens to express their sense of indignation and outrage at the atrocities practiced upon the Jews at various times and places in Russia, and particularly at Kishineff, where hundreds of unresisting men, women and children were slaughtered without the slightest regard to age, sex or condition.

This is one of the many shocking and horrifying outrages that have marked the first years of the twentieth century, which has been heralded as above all its predecessors, the age of civilization, enlightenment and human progress in every department of man's social organization.

That the expressions of protest and condemnation made by the American people will be keenly felt by the governing, and enlightened classes of the Russian people is certain. The Russian press has already deplored the severe criticism poured upon Russia by the people of other nations, and above all, the good opinion of the Americans is desired. Therefore, there is every reason to believe that words of protest and condemnation pronounced by the people of New Orleans against the perpetrators of the most hideous atrocities of the modern age will fill with shame and confusion the hearts and consciences of the best classes of the Russians, and be doubly mortifying to the high officials of the Government.

The Russian officials know that the great handicap and backset to their nation is that in this age of enlightenment and progress their vast population has risen little, if any, above the level of barbarism, and that they are Asiatic Tartars trying to pose as Europeans of the highest class. It is for this reason, above all, that reproofs and condemnation by civilized and advanced races overwhelm them with chagrin and mortification. Therefore is it that the censure and obloquy under which they have fallen through the outrages perpetrated upon an unoffending and peaceable people at Kishineff will rebuke and wound the Russian Government more than would all the official intervention that foreign nations could accomplish.

Then let to-night's meeting be a great outpouring of a Christian people and truly voice their sense of the great crimes the Russians have committed against humanity and the civilization of the age.

[*Times-Democrat, New Orleans, La., May 16, 1903*]

JEW-BAITING IN RUSSIA

The news which has just leaked out of Kishineff, in the Bessarabia province of Russia, is an indictment of the rule of his Majesty the Czar, which all of his alleged attempts to secure international peace can not affect. Had this Jew-baiting been simply the result of a riot, the responsibility would have rested entirely on the brutes who wrought the outrages. But the evidence shows that the police and the soldiers stood by and "held the clothes" of the murderers, and even pointed out victims to them. The police and the soldiers of Russia are both under the control of the central government, which is itself, bureaucratic as Russia is, in control of the Czar, and the Czar cannot escape the responsibility of the murders. He could have held the hands of the mob had he been so disposed. But Nicholas, for all of his claims to being a man of peace, with a horror of the shedding of blood, has the savage Romanoff blood in every fiber of his being, and the poor baited Jew need look for no assistance from him.

The horror will, of course, never be fully known, and it is perhaps best that it should not be. For once the press censorship in Russia seems to be doing a good work. Enough has transpired to make the blood chilly and to grow "goose-flesh" on the most callous skins. The "unspeakable Turk" has been cast entirely in the shade by this outrage in a city of 120,000 inhabitants, where there was ample force to put a stop to the massacres, which remained unchecked for days.

The origin of the massacres seems to have been the ancient lie which was overworked during the dark ages of the world. Stories of ritualistic murders by the Jews were circulated to excite the people, who needed very little stimulus to attack the defenseless and despised Jews. This alleged ritual observance consists in the sacrifice of Gentile infants about the time of the Passover by the Jews to propitiate an angry God. That such lies should be believed in the twentieth century is, of course, not possible, but Russia is still in the fifteenth century. Time has not progressed in that unfortunate land since the foundation of the great empire. As in Central Africa, time has stood still, appalled at the horrors around it. Sad it is but true, that the periodical retelling of such a lie should excite a whole population to murder and outrage and subject an entire people to outrage and murder.

NEW YORK CITY

[*American and Journal, New York, May 12, 1903*]

THE *AMERICAN* WILL INVESTIGATE THE JEWISH MASSACRES

The butchery of the Jews in the Russian province of Bessarabia is the twentieth century's first contribution to the long list of horrors growing out of racial and religious bigotry. Two thousand years ago the Man of Galilee preached the doctrine of peace, but even now Christendom, to its shame, numbers millions who believe in the gospel and practice the faith of fire and sword.

To the American such things as the butchery of half a thousand Jewish men, women and children for the reasons that moved the ignorant Russians are almost incredible.

The telling of the whole story of the reign of blood and death in the Jewish villages of Bessarabia may so arouse those in all lands who love liberty and believe in religious freedom as to bring about action that will forever put a stop to such massacres.

That all shall be known, that the full story may be told, The American has ordered a special commissioner to Russia. He will tell The American's readers a plain, accurate story of all that has been done. The American's commissioner will afford prompt relief to those who have been stripped of their property and deprived of a means of earning a living.

The situation demands quick action. The American meets the demand.

[*American and Journal, New York, May 13, 1903*]

LET AMERICA, IN CIVILIZATION'S NAME, PROTEST TO THE CZAR

Every Christian pulpit in the United States should ring with denunciation of the crimes being done in Russia in the name of Christianity.

The whole world has been shocked by the massacre of Jews—Jewish children and women as well as men—in Kishineff. And now the news comes that the barbarians who call themselves Christians have been dealing death to the Hebrews at Tiraspol also.

These scenes of bloody religious persecution bring the Dark Ages down to the twentieth century. It is to be borne in mind that the peasants and rabble of the towns who commit such frightful deeds, though living in the year 1903, are not modern men at all. They are apart from the currents of contemporary European life—as secluded, illiterate, superstitious and uncivilized as are the inhabitants of darkest China who slaughter Christian missionaries and their converts. The motive ascribed for the rising against the Jews in Kishineff—the murder of Christian children as sacrifices at the Feast of the Passover—is eloquent of the benighted state of the people. That identical charge was made against the earliest Christians by the pagan persecutors of Rome, and down through history it has been repeated in justification of Jew-baiting.

But the blood of the innocent is upon hands other than those of the imbruted Russian peasantry. There were many troops stationed in and about Kishineff when the attacks upon the Jews occurred. The governor, therefore, could have protected the Hebrews had he wished to protect them. But it is declared that he laughed at their prayers for help, and that uniformed soldiers were among the active assassins.

And Tiraspol is but seven miles from Kishineff.

How came it that with ample time to take precautions the authorities permitted the example of the blood-thirsty persecutors of Kishineff to be followed there?

It is cabled from St. Petersburg that the Minister of the Interior has given out an official account of the Kishineff massacre, placing the killed at 45, the injured at 424, and stating that 700 houses and 600 shops were looted. Unofficial reports fix the dead and wounded at far higher figures, but taking those of the Minister as correct, it can well be understood how true are the stories that reach us of the terror in which the scattered, hidden and hunted survivors draw their breath.

The same St. Petersburg dispatch announces that the Minister of the Interior, by direct instruction of the Czar, has notified the governors of provinces, that they will be held personally responsible for their failure to take proper measures to prevent similar acts of violence.

This is to be credited. The Czar himself is not a barbarian. He knows the view that the world beyond Russia takes of these outbursts of anti-Semitic fury. But how far he cares to go to prevent a recurrence of them is problematical. Until the governor responsible for Kishineff and Tiraspol has been made an example of, and the actual murderers have been tried and executed, the world will not have great faith in the Czar's earnestness, while appreciating to the full his desire to stand well with civilized mankind.

The American is determined that Christendom shall know the whole truth about these massacres and the conditions which made them possible. To that end this newspaper has arranged to dispatch a commissioner to Russia, to investigate and proclaim the facts. The man selected for this mission is Michael Davitt, whose uprightness, courage and intellectual competence are universally recognized. Though no patriot has fought his country's political battles more loyally and ardently, there is scarcely another Irishman held in so high respect for his abilities and character by the public men and people of England. He has the philosophic mind, he has had personal experience of persecution, and his reputation as a serious writer was long ago established. The truth, without fear or favor, can be looked for from Michael Davitt.

But pending the publication in The American of the results of Mr. Davitt's investigations, there is a duty for the government of the United States to perform—an imperative duty. Enough of the terrible truth has been made known to warrant a protest to the Czar. There is no denial that Jews have been wantonly massacred in Russia. There is no denial that Jews, because they are Jews, find themselves in time of peace subjected in that empire to all the horrors of medieval war. Their children are slain, their women dishonored and themselves put to death because they cling to their ancient faith.

The plea that our government cannot with propriety address a message of stern expostulation to the Czar respecting a matter of domestic concern is as bloodless as it is mistaken. Humanity has rights which transcend the obligations of international etiquette. The entire world under such provocation as has been given at Kishineff and Tiraspol is warranted in rising and thundering to the Czar.

Besides, if precedent is wanted by the State Department, precedent is at hand, furnished by itself. No longer ago than last September, Secretary Hay sent to England, Germany, France, Russia, Austria and Turkey, signatories to the Berlin Treaty of 1878, an emphatic note of protest against the oppression of the Jews in Roumania. That note was written for the reason that the suffering of the Roumanian

Jews excited the indignation and sympathy of enlightened men everywhere, but Mr. Hay placed his protest on the ground that Roumania by her persecutions forced ignorance and poverty upon the Jews and made them undesirable as immigrants to the United States.

Why cannot Secretary Hay, speaking for all Americans, of every religion and no religion, avail himself again of that transparent pretext, if pretext he must have, and arraign Russia and Russia's absolute monarch at the bar of modern civilization for the atrocious crimes committed in his empire against a people whose only offense is their religion.

Ours is the nation which should take the lead. This Republic, where all faiths stand on an equal footing and where every man is free to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, may fittingly step forward and be the first of the powers to give voice to the feelings which have been aroused in all save the breasts of barbarians by the massacres of the Jews in Russia.

[*American and Journal, New York, May 18, 1903*]

THE VOICE OF THE REPUBLIC WILL REACH THE CZAR

The American press is waking up to the horror and significance of the Kishineff massacre. Daily, as the details of the hideous slaughter are made known, newspaper after newspaper, obeying the pressure of public opinion, gives its voice to the chorus of denunciation of a power, calling itself civilized, which permits the persistent persecution of a race whose only offenses are their religion and superior abilities.

The American people in this matter are not being led by the press; the press is being led by the people—for everywhere throughout the United States men of all religions and all nationalities are moved in mind and heart by the awful narratives which come from blood-drenched Kishineff. Our own freedom enables us to feel with piercing effect the horrible contrast which Russia offers.

What will our government do?

Nothing, the Washington dispatches say. The State Department, so semi-official authority gives out, cannot see its way to entering a protest, since none of the slain, or wounded, or outraged at Kishineff was an American citizen. Therefore, it is asserted, no appearance of justification can be given for paying diplomatic attention to an incident which, however terrible, concerns Russia alone.

The answer to this is that the State Department could easily find a pretext for a protest if there existed a strong desire to find one. We protested officially against Roumania's persecution of the Jews on the double ground of humanity and the driving to our shores of poverty-stricken immigration. It is certain that vast numbers of Russian Jews will flee to this country as a result of the Kishineff massacre, as multitudes of their brethren have already come in consequence of ill-treatment.

Why, then, is there not as good a technical case against Russia now as there was against Roumania last year?

But the niceties of diplomatic etiquette may be left to the small and hard minds that are enamored of them.

The American people would support the government not only in making an individual protest to Russia, but in inviting all the Christian powers to join with it in demanding of the Czar, in the name of modern civilization, that he put a stop to these atrocities, or let his empire take barbarian rank and cease its pretense of belonging to the family of nations.

The voice of the American Republic is being heard, and it will continue to be heard, whether the government at Washington shall remain silent or not.

The people are speaking, and what they are saying through the press will reach the ear of the Czar.

Mankind in this twentieth century will not stand mute in the presence of such crimes as those done in Russia, and the world's opinion is a power which even despots do not in this day dare to ignore.

[*American and Journal, New York, May 19, 1903*]

CARDINAL GIBBONS SPEAKS FOR CHRISTIANITY

Cardinal Gibbons, head of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, has spoken as becomes a Christian. In a letter addressed to a mass meeting held in Baltimore on Sunday to express American public opinion respecting the Kishineff massacre, he said:

> Our sense of justice revolts at the thought of persecution for religion's sake, but when persecution is attended with murder and pillage the brain reels and the heart sickens, and righteous indignation is aroused at the enormity of such a crime. What a blot upon our civilization is this slaughter of inoffensive men, women and children!

The sentiments of Cardinal Gibbons are those of every real follower of Jesus—who was himself a Jew.

Christians throughout the world have special reason for feeling horror and shame at the Russian outrages, for they were committed by men calling themselves Christians. Every man with heart and brain enough to be civilized feels abhorrence and disgust for the brutes who did the deeds that have fixed the eyes of mankind upon Kishineff, but in addition the Christian is burdened with the consciousness that the crimes were done in the name of his religion.

Cardinal Gibbons has spoken not for his own church only, but for all churches. Yet the duty is incumbent upon every church to speak for itself. There should not be one silent pulpit in America.

The Baltimore meeting to which Cardinal Gibbons wrote his Christian and manly words was attended by many leading citizens of Maryland, among them Dr. Daniel C. Gilman, President of the Carnegie Institution, who advised that similar meetings be held in all parts of the United States, to the end that public opinion in this country shall be brought to bear upon the Russian government in favor of a humane policy.

American citizens of all nationalities and creeds are alike in their detestation of religious persecution. They abhor these Russian murderers and the spirit that prompted them to their hideous acts and now protects them from exemplary punishment. In every American city there should be a mass meeting to give formal expression to the community's condemnation of the bloody work at Kishineff.

Resolutions were adopted by the Baltimore gathering which called upon our government to exert such influence as it officially can upon that of Russia to bring about a cessation of these inhumanities.

That example should be followed from end to end of the Republic.

It is the duty of our government to protest, and it will protest if the American people insist and there is at Washington the sympathy there ought to be with the sentiments of Cardinal Gibbons.

[*American and Journal, New York, May 28, 1903*]

IT IS AMERICA'S DUTY TO PROTEST TO RUSSIA

City after city, town after town, holds its mass meeting to express horror at the Kishineff massacre. Almost invariably these mass meetings call upon the government to make formal protest to Russia against the persecution of the Jews.

The State Department meanwhile gives no sign of an intention to comply with this popular demand. From time to time semi-official statements emanate from Washington to the effect that any meddling with the domestic concerns of the Russian empire is not to be thought of—that the whole diplomatic world would hold up its hands in well-bred dismay at such a piece of crude impoliteness. Secretary Hay has shown his personal sympathy with the Kishineff sufferers by contributing $200 to the relief fund, but it is apparent that there will be no official move unless it shall be forced by an insistent public opinion.

Soon the government will find itself in a position where either it must act or explain some more.

In August, 1902, protest was made against the persecution of the Jews in Roumania on the double ground of humanity and self-interest—the latter being aroused by the forced migration to our shores of poverty-stricken Jews to whom their native land was being made a hell.

Well, humanity has surely been outraged in Russia even more horribly than in Roumania, and refugees from Kishineff are already beginning to arrive among us. When these pioneers are followed by the scores of thousands who within a few months will flock to this refuge of the oppressed, in what manner will the situation differ from that which existed when less than a year ago Secretary Hay nobly raised his voice to denounce the baseness and cruelty of Roumania?

Was there any dissent anywhere in this Republic when Mr. Hay then spoke in behalf of the persecuted?

Has he, or the President, reason now to fear that there would be dissent should he say to Russia what he said to Roumania?

The only reason why the government hesitates to speak, to give official form to the feelings of the American people, is that Russia is a strong power, while Roumania was, and is, a weak one.

That is an unworthy reason for silence. This nation is great and powerful enough to justify its government in speaking for its people to Russia or any other country in behalf of humanity when humanity is trampled upon. To stand dumb in the presence of such atrocities as those which have been perpetrated in Russia is cowardly.

The American hopes to see many more mass meetings held and at every one of them the adoption of resolutions in which the demand for a protest by the government of the United States shall be reiterated.

Let the President of the United States, through his Secretary of State, address Russia as he did the powers with respect to Roumania, and the civilized world would applaud, for such a protest could not but be supported by the moral sense of mankind.

The American Republic has a right to cry out against the persecution of the Jews in Russia, and it will be false to its spirit and duty if it shall not do so.

[*American and Journal, New York, May 29, 1903*]

THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT IS ALREADY CONVICTED OF GUILTY COMPLICITY

The mass meeting held at Carnegie Hall, in this city, on Wednesday night, to voice the horror of the people of New York at the Kishineff massacre, swells the chorus of American protest. Its effect will be increased by the circumstance that it was presided over by the Mayor of the metropolis and the further fact that the principal speaker was an ex-President of the United States.

But we cannot forbear the expression of regret that Mr. Cleveland followed up his warm and manly denunciation of the murders and outrages with a timid plea for the withholding of pressure upon our government for an official protest to Russia.

"The moral effect of our protest and the usefulness of this demonstration," he said, "will not be lessened if we require indubitable proof before we accuse the government of Russia of guilty complicity in the crimes committed within her borders, and it seems to me that we may well consider the proper relationship between nations before we demand too pronounced interference on the part of our government."

It is always wise not to be precipitate, always prudent not to act upon incomplete knowledge, but it is also true that it is easy to be too "temperate," too "conservative." That way cowardice and paralysis lie.

What proofs of complicity would Mr. Cleveland consider indubitable? Would he have our government remain silent until it is in possession of sworn testimony and documentary evidence that would suffice to convict the Czar of murder in an American court of law? Or is it to be expected that Emperor Nicholas will go before the United States ambassador at St. Petersburg and make under oath confession that either he or his Ministers issued orders for the massacre?

Nobody, so far as we have heard, accuses the Russian government of having immediately and directly instigated the attack upon the Jews of Kishineff, but it is nevertheless demonstrable that that government is responsible. The massacre was the necessary result of its persecuting policy.

The Jews of Russia are systematically discriminated against by law. They are officially treated as aliens and outcasts. To quote Dr. Emil Hirsch:

> The May laws do not permit the Jews to live in villages. By the mere stroke of the pen in the hands of the administrative officers many large-sized towns were at once declared to be villages, and the Jews were compelled to sacrifice all their property and abandon their honest and honorable occupations and move into the few cities which even Russian cruelty did not dare to label villages. Again, by these May laws, it was made unlawful for a Jew to live, unless by special privilege and exemption in places within a certain radius from the frontier. * * * Other laws were devised to make it almost impossible for the Jew to sustain himself in anything like modest decency. * * * What the condition of the Bessarabian Jews came to be under these circumstances may be left to the imagination. The Russian May laws made exceptions in favor of the Jews that have earned a diploma at a university, but only a ridiculously small percentage of Jewish students are admitted into the universities. Even though the Jewish population constitutes about half of the total of a town, not more than five in each hundred students may be of the Jewish faith. * * * The laws of Russia are responsible for these frightful inhumanities of Kishineff.

Tolstoi is a witness to the same effect. That great and brave man, though living within reach of the iron hand of Russian authority, has dared to say:

> Even before I knew all the frightful details I understood the horror and felt intense pity for the innocent victims of mob savagery, mingled with perplexity at the bestiality of the so-called Christians and aversion and disgust for the so-called educated people who instigated the mob and sympathized with its deeds. Above all I was horrified at the real culprit, namely, the government, with its foolish, fanatical priesthood and gang of robber officials. The Kishineff crime was a consequence of that preaching of lies and violence which the government carries on with such stubborn energy.

Is more needed to bring home to every American mind the truth that the Russian government's settled attitude toward the Jews is such as to encourage the mob to assault and rob them? If so, the additional evidence is supplied by the fact that even American citizenship does not protect the Hebrew in the Czar's dominions. That citizenship is not recognized by the Russian government. The American who is a Jew when he goes to Russia must submit to the laws which discriminate against his race. And our government, though often besought to insist that this insulting discrimination shall cease and American citizenship be honored irrespective of the religious faith of the citizen, has so far remained inactive.

The nobility of Russia, the aristocracy, hate the Jew and foment hatred against him among the ignorant and brutal peasantry and the rabble of the cities. Maxim Gorki, the author and man of the people, testifies:

> Cultivated society is not less guilty of the disgraceful and horrible deeds committed at Kishineff than the actual murderers and ravishers. Its members' guilt consists not merely in that they did not protect the victims, but in that they rejoiced over the murders. It consists chiefly in permitting themselves for long years to be corrupted by man-haters and persons who have long enjoyed the disgusting glory of being the lackeys of power, and the glorifiers of liars like the editor of The Bessarabyetz, of Kishineff, and other publicists.

By its laws, the Russian government degrades the Jews and gives countenance to the Jew-baiters. By the liberty which it grants to that portion of the press which instils hatred of the Jews and its suppression of newspapers which plead for just treatment of the oppressed race, the government deliberately invites anti-Semitic riots.

It is to be deplored that Mr. Cleveland did not take a view broader than that of an overcautious lawyer of the frightful plight of the Russian Jews and of our government's duty in the premises. Because of his position as a former President of the United States a large and generous utterance from him would have carried almost official weight in St. Petersburg.

But no matter what Mr. Cleveland or any other individual may do, or fail to do, the American people are speaking out at these mass meetings and letting Russia know in what esteem among us a country is held which by its laws makes pariahs of the Jewish race and so prepares the way for and sanctions religious persecution.

This is a government of the people, and if the administration shall continue to be silent in the face of horrors which have appalled mankind, it will be recreant to its duty.

The protest made last year by Secretary of State Hay against the oppression of the Jews in Roumania was called forth by less provocation than has been given by Russia. Therefore, unless that is to be pardoned in Russia which was not to be forgiven in Roumania, there will go from President Roosevelt to the Czar a protest that shall leave no room for the Russian government to doubt how it appears in the eyes of modern civilization. And there could be no better time than this to give Russia unmistakably to understand that henceforward American citizenship must be recognized.

Mr. Cleveland even in his most conservative and diplomatic mood must admit that the government of the United States has an unquestionable right officially to formulate that self-respecting demand.

[*American and Journal, New York, June 2, 1903*]

RUSSIA'S TWO NOBLE FIGURES

While Victor Hugo lived weakness oppressed by strength could always count on him for championship. Zola, too, dared to confront hostile France and speak for the martyred Dreyfus, enduring obloquy and defying all the enemies of right, no matter how high their place or great their power.

Russia has her Hugo and Zola in Tolstoi and Gorki. Both have fearlessly denounced the massacre of the Jews at Kishineff and arraigned the government and the privileged classes as the real promoters of that hideous crime, and as such more guilty than the ignorant, fanatical brutes who did the actual murders.

The whole enlightened world admires the courage of these fine spirits who, regardless of consequences to themselves, cry out against cruelty, but they must fill with a special pride men of letters everywhere. It is to the deathless honor of literature that the most conspicuous foes of religious persecution and governmental tyranny are writers.

It is because they have brains and souls that the Hugos, the Zolas, the Tolstois and the Gorkis of the race become authors. And having brains and souls, they realize to themselves the sufferings of the oppressed as common men do not and cannot, unless the victims are being tortured in their very sight. To the eye of the imagination of a Tolstoi and a Gorki the horrors of Kishineff were as vivid as if they themselves had been upon the ground and seen the slaughter with the eyes of flesh. The pictures in their minds brought from them a shuddering and indignant protest which all mankind, including the Czar and his officials, have been compelled to hear.

Let us thank God for men of genius. They see clearly where the rest of us see uncertainly, and they speak with voices in which is no quaver of timidity.

To-day the two noblest figures in dark and blood-stained Russia are these two men of the pen, Tolstoi and Gorki. They speak for humanity, and therefore have made themselves countrymen of every one who is civilized.

[*American and Journal, New York, June 5, 1903*]

THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE HORRORS OF KISHINEFF

No man who is a man can read without a sickening sense of horror and repulsion the report upon the Kishineff massacre made by Michael Davitt, the commissioner sent by The American to investigate the facts.

In general he confirms the worst accounts that have hitherto reached the outside world, and adds many particulars which deepen the atrocity of the satanic outrages perpetrated upon the Jews in the name of Christianity.

We commend to President Roosevelt and his Secretary of State the dispatch of Mr. Davitt, an impartial witness, whose standing is such as to compel respect and credence.

He shows that official Russia was deeply concerned in this outbreak of anti-Semitism which has so shocked and stirred civilized mankind.

All the conditions under which the Jews live in Russia are such as to encourage mob persecution, and the government of Russia is responsible for those conditions.

The laws so discriminate against the Jews that they are reduced to the status of an inferior and despised race.

The Greek Church is the State Church, and the Czar is its official head. And this Church inculcates hatred of the Jews, inflaming the peasantry and rabble of the towns against them. The only daily newspaper in Kishineff, The Bessarabyetz, fired the mob against the Hebrews by pretending to accept as true the preposterous charge that they had killed Christians in order to use their blood for ritual purposes in the synagogues, and appealed to the Christians to punish these fabulous crimes. Mr. Davitt reports:

> The chief rabbi of Kishineff, fearing the result of these appeals, hastened to the Greek bishop and implored him to calm the popular mind by giving the episcopal assurance that no such ritual was practiced. The bishop's reply was that he found there was some Semitic sect which really did indulge in the use of Christian blood in the Paschal ceremonies, and he refused to intervene.

This same bishop, while on his way to dinner during the first day's outrages, passed in his carriage through the mob, giving his blessing to the crowd of murderers and robbers.

"The actual leaders of the riots," says Mr. Davitt, "were students from the Royal School, and seminarists from the city's religious colleges."

Crosses and ikons displayed at the windows of houses and shops declared their inmates to be Christians, and this saved them from molestation.

The governor, the chief of police and nearly all the officials appear to have been sympathetic with the mob. "Some of the bands were composed of the lower employees of the various departments of the municipality." Soldiers were among the ravishers, slayers and looters. "The present Vice-Governor of Bessarabia and Councillor of State Von Oustragopf are notorious anti-Semites."

"No evidence," reports Mr. Davitt, "was adduced to me to implicate the government at St. Petersburg in a responsibility for the outbreak which has covered Russia's name with shame, but Minister Von Plehve must have known the outbreak was contemplated, but thinking the affair would not culminate in massacre, took no steps to meet the emergency until too late."

That charitable judgment will generally be concurred in. The personal character of the Czar forbids the belief that he would be capable of ordering a Kishineff slaughter, or of permitting his Ministers to order it. Of that degree of "guilty complicity," as ex-President Cleveland has phrased it, Emperor Nicholas is acquitted by the world's opinion.

But to fix responsibility upon the Czar, legal and moral, it is not necessary to convict him of having given orders, directly or through ministerial agents, for the attack upon the Jews of Kishineff.

The Czar is the government of Russia. What is the attitude of that government toward the Jews?

Let the laws which make them outcasts answer.

Let the spirit and actions of the State Church answer.

Let the savage anti-Semitic prejudice which pervades official and aristocratic society, encouraged by the laws and the Church, answer.

Let that same prejudice among the peasantry and town populations—not restrained, but instilled from above—answer.

Let the government's treatment of the press answer.

"Finding it impossible, on account of the Russian censorship, to send the truth from Kishineff, I do so from this point," cables Mr. Davitt from Berlin.

The Czar's government keeps an iron hand upon the press. Let anything not agreeable to it be printed and the newspaper guilty of the offense will be suppressed. Therefore, whatever appears in the Russian press is justly understood to be approved by the government.

Kroushevan, editor of The Bessarabyetz, is a rabid anti-Semite. "He has," reports Mr. Davitt, who was not allowed to send the truth to The American from Kishineff, "systematically inflamed the popular feeling against the Jews, as the foes of Russia, as the propagandists of Socialism and as the enemies of the Christian religion. Kroushevan's attacks have been continuous for six years. Merchants and employers giving work to Jews were held up to public odium, and the expulsion or extermination of the race was openly urged."

One line in hostile criticism of the government would have stopped the press of The Bessarabyetz and sent its editor to jail, but for six years he was left free to preach his crusade of assassination and spoliation. He could rightly claim that he spoke for the government.

His paper is still published, and Kroushevan is still at large, and still wielding his murderous pen under protection of the government.

Newspapers in St. Petersburg that cried out against the crimes at Kishineff were warned to desist on pain of suppression.

Anybody in Russia is at liberty to write against the Jews; nobody is at liberty to write in their defense.

Suppose the warden of Sing Sing were to discriminate against Protestant or Catholic prisoners by posting rules to their disadvantage in the matter of working hours and food. Suppose he were habitually to treat them with contempt, and personally abuse them, and countenance abuse of them by other prisoners. Suppose that he should permit a paper published in the penitentiary constantly to revile these prisoners and incite violence against them, and that all the guards under him should manifest the same spirit, and pride themselves upon it. Then suppose the non-Catholic or non-Protestant prisoners should rise some day and fall upon and murder the Protestant or Catholic prisoners—would that warden be acquitted either by a jury or public opinion of "guilty complicity" in the massacre?

Mass meetings continue to be held in various parts of the United States whose resolutions call upon President Roosevelt to protest, on behalf of the American people, to the

Czar against the persecution of the Jewish race in the empire of which he is the absolute monarch.

That protest should be made. Every dictate of humanity and the profoundest interests of civilization demand that the administration shall give formal voice to the feelings of the Republic, which cannot, without being recreant to its duty, remain officially silent in the presence of crimes so frightful as those that have resulted from the Russian government's deliberate and systematic persecution of the Jews.

[*American and Journal, New York, June 8, 1903*]

ST. PETERSBURG LIES TO EXCUSE KISHINEFF HORRORS

The latest attempt of the Russian government to rid itself of guilt for the Kishineff atrocities makes matters worse for it.

Loupoukin, Director of the Russian Police Department, responding to a telegram sent to the Czar by the Christian Herald asking for an official report on the massacre, puts forth a reply which shocks by its falsehoods.

For example, he says:

> On Easter Day, in the market place of Kishineff, the workers, while holiday making, saw the Jewish proprietor of a carrousel machine strike a Christian woman, who fell to the ground, letting go her infant. This incident was the immediate cause of the outburst. The workers began breaking windows and pulling down Jewish stores as a sign of protest. The police, who always leave much to be desired in provincial towns, failed to make efficacious intervention, many thousands of the mass of on-lookers and holiday workers approving the riot and hindering the policemen's actions.

Michael Davitt, The American's commissioner, has replied to this falsehood in advance. In his report, cabled from Berlin because he found it impossible on account of the Russian censorship to send the truth from Kishineff, he said:

> I found that the origin of the riots at Kishineff was not that reported by the Russian accounts, which alleged that a Christian woman was struck by the Jew proprietor of a merry-go-round, which provoked the crowds of peasants to

the ensuing riots. There is no truth in this story. I found the owner of the merry-go-round. He is a German named Reinhold Mergert, and is a Christian. He assured me that no woman was insulted or hurt on that occasion.

Director of Police Loupoukin states that the strained relations between the Christians and Jews was due to the finding in an outlying village of a murdered Christian boy whose death was attributed by the population to the Jewish ritual habits. " Official denials of the ritual murder were not given credit by the peasants."

What " official denials? "

Mr. Davitt sets forth that the only daily papėr in Kishineff, The Bessarabyetz, which for six years has " systematically inflamed popular feeling against the Jews " without interference from a government that allows the press to publish nothing of which it disapproves, declared the death of the boy referred to and the suicide of a girl at the Jewish hospital " to be both ritual murders by the Jews, and summoned the Russian Christians to punish the authors of the alleged crimes."

That was the official view, or The Bessarabyetz would not have been allowed to promulgate it.

And when the chief rabbi of Kishineff, as Mr. Davitt explains, hastened to the Greek bishop, an official of Russia's State Church, and implored him to calm the popular mind by giving the episcopal assurance that no such ritual was practiced, what was this official's response? Mr. Davitt gives it:

> The bishop's reply was that he feared there was some Semitic sect which really did indulge in the use of Christian blood in the Paschal ceremonies, and he refused to intervene.

And after there had been many murders and unspeakable infamies practiced, this same bishop, in riding through the mob of fiendish assassins and ravishers, bestowed his blessing upon them!

Director of Police Loupoukin, speaking for the Russian government, simply adds lies to murder and outrage.

That government cannot escape responsibility for Kishineff. What happened there came as naturally from the habitual official treatment of the Jews as ripe fruit is borne by the tree which is carefully cultivated.

While the Jews of Russia are made outcasts by Russia's laws, and Russia's Church preaches hatred of the Hebrews, riots and massacres will recur. And the perpetrators of these crimes will not be the ignorant and superstitious peasantry only, as Loupoukin would have us believe was the case at Kishineff. "There," Mr. Davitt informs the world, "the actual leaders of the riots were students from the Royal School and the city's religious colleges."

Mr. Davitt urges that the St. Petersburg government issue a ukase declaring there is no truth in the horrible fiction of Jewish ritual murders, that the clergy be compelled to read the same from their pulpits, and that a conference of the leading Jews of Western Europe be held without delay to consider the best means to solve the problem of the Russian Jew. He further advises, on the recommendation of a high Russian official, that "some prominent statesman or highly respected citizen of the United States visit St. Petersburg and seek an interview with the Czar."

Russia's ruler could exert his power as head of the Greek Church in no more beneficent way than that indicated, and any suggestion as to popular action in this country coming from Michael Davitt is sure to receive the respectful consideration it deserves.

But in addition to any popular action there remains the clear duty of the government of the United States to speak officially to the government of Russia in the name of humanity. The American people will be satisfied with nothing short of that. This great Republic, in which all religions are free, has a right to utter modern civilization's protest against the horrors of Kishineff.

[*American and Journal, New York, June 10, 1903*]

A RUSSIAN WITNESS TO RUSSIA'S GUILT

Leo Tolstoi as a witness testifying to the causes of occurrences in Russia will be listened to by the civilized world with at least as much credence as the Russian ambassador at Washington, our own representative at St. Petersburg, Mr. McCormick, or Loupoukin, Director of the Russian Police Department.

As a witness Tolstoi has this fact to bear in favor of his credibility: He has no official position to endanger by telling the truth, if that truth shall happen to be disagreeable to the government. Nor has he, like Ambassador McCormick, any ambition to stand well at the Czar's court, or to ingratiate himself with the Russian aristocracy. Tolstoi is merely a man of genius who long ago abandoned a social position much more exalted than any Mr. McCormick can ever hope to achieve in Russia, and devotes himself to living a simple Christian life.

Questioned by The Philadelphia North American as to where, in his judgment, the responsibility for the murders and outrages at Kishineff should be placed, Tolstoi replied by cable:

> Guilty is the government: First, by excluding Jews as a separate caste from common rights; secondly, through inculcating by force to the Russian people an idolatrous faith instead of Christianity.

The Czar is supreme in Russia. He is head of the State, the head of the Church. With him lies the removal of the degrading and persecution-promoting disabilities under which the Jews of his empire live. And to-morrow the Czar could, if he wished, adopt the wise and humane suggestion offered by Michael Davitt, that he issue a ukase declaring there is no truth in the horrible fiction of Jewish ritual murders of Christian children, and compel the clergy to read the same from their pulpits.

But for the laws of Russia and the spirit and teachings of her State Church there would have been no massacre at Kishineff.

Enlightened mankind throughout the earth echoes the judgment of Leo Tolstoi:

"Guilty is the government."

[*American and Journal, New York, July 17, 1903*]

A VERY FEEBLE PROTEST TO THE CZAR

The President of the United States has said that he would send to the Czar of Russia (if the Czar would take it) a petition deploring the Kishineff murders. The petition has been brought for signatures to the office of this newspaper and it has been signed, of course.

But the bearer of the petition, a member of the influential B'nai B'rith Association, was told that in the opinion of this newspaper the petition represented American feeling very poorly.

The humble wording of the petition, the servile praise of the Czar, express very feebly, it seems to us, the attitude which independent Americans should take when they treat with a man who encourages murder and outlaws millions of men and women because of their religion.

We quote a few sentences from the petition in question:

> Until your Majesty gave special and personal directions the local authorities failed to maintain order or suppress the rioting. . . .
>
> The sinfulness and folly which give impulse to unnecessary war received their greatest shock when Your Majesty's initiative resulted in an international court of peace. . . .
>
> The civilized world cherishes the hope that upon the same initiative there shall be fixed in the early days of the twentieth century the enduring principle of religious liberty; that by a gracious and convincing expression Your Majesty will proclaim, not only for the government of your own subjects but also for the guidance of all civilized men, that none shall suffer in person, property, liberty, honor or life because of his religious belief. . . .
>
> Your petitioners yet venture in the name of civilization to plead for religious liberty and tolerance; to plead that he who led his own people and all others to the shrine of peace will add new luster to his reign and fame by leading a new movement that shall commit the whole world in opposition to religious persecutions.

Do these words express in any way the *real* feelings of the American citizen of Jewish or Gentile blood?

We think not.

There comes news from Russia that the Jews are already better treated at Kishineff. Prince Usuroff, the new governor of Bessarabia, has visited the principal Jews and has assured them of protection.

This he does because the Russian government knows that its wholesale murders have aroused the contempt of this country and the enmity of all Americans who hate tyranny, and especially tyranny based on religious superstition.

No favorable action will ever be obtained from the Russian Czar by any petition of weak-kneed, servile, humble pleading.

The petition that was to have been sent should in our opinion have read something like this:

To the Czar of Russia: The people of the United States have had a friendly feeling for Russia despite the fact that the Russian form of government in itself is detestable to the American republican idea. It is believed that the friendship of America is not unimportant to Russia. Certainly America has power, and a power that is growing. Millions of Americans who sign this petition addressed to you are aware of the fact that American citizens of Jewish faith are forbidden entrance to Russia, or persecuted when they go there.

The signers of this petition are aware that the Kishineff massacre was a religious massacre. The signers of this petition protest as representatives of American public opinion, first, against the scornful treatment of any class of American citizens in Russia, and, second, against wholesale religious murder. The people of America will not indorse any national friendly attitude toward a government which excludes an entire class of American citizens. The people of America will not care to be on friendly terms with a government that includes wholesale murder among its recognized features of government and of religious propaganda.

Such a petition as that would perhaps not have been very diplomatic from a John Hay point of view, and it would doubtless not have pleased the Czar; but it would at least have given some idea as to how Americans really feel.

[*American Monthly Review of Reviews, New York, August, 1903*]

AMERICA AND THE RUSSIAN JEWS

The Jewish community in the United States has become so strong and influential that it can make itself heard and felt when it chooses. But the strong feeling in the United States aroused by the Kishineff massacres and the bad treatment of the Jews in Russia was not confined to the people of Jewish faith, and there was a widespread desire that the government of this country should associate itself with public sentiment in some sort of expression to the government of Russia. The Jewish committee secured many thousands of influential signatures to a respectful petition addressed to the Czar calling attention to the harsh treatment of the Jews in Russia, and asking for a redress of grievances. President Roosevelt and the State Department decided, last month, to recognize this movement by receiving the petition and communicating about it with the Russian government. Having decided to concern themselves in the matter, there remained three ways for our authorities to proceed: First, it was possible to forward the petition as signed to our embassy at St. Petersburg, with instructions to present it to the Russian government if possible; another way was to communicate with the Russian embassy at Washington; the third way was to inform our own representative at St. Petersburg of the exact character of the petition, with instructions to ascertain directly whether or not it would be received if forwarded. The last of these courses was the one decided upon by President Roosevelt, last month, after consultation with the Jewish committee. It was the most effective way to proceed, because in any case it led to the embodiment in a formal communication by our government to the Russian government of the statements and representations of the petition itself. The Russian government was thus communicated with in the middle of July. As was expected, our inquiry was met with a polite refusal to receive the petition. Neither government had been guilty of the slightest discourtesy toward the other, and yet the government of the United States succeeded in making a great moral impression throughout the world by the manner in which it had recognized the sentiment of the country and the dictates of our common humanity. The reports from Russia are to the effect that the government is seriously prosecuting the leaders of the Kishineff riots.

[*Christian Herald, New York, May 27, 1903*]

RABID ANTI-SEMITISM

All the world has been shocked by the report of the atrocities committed on the Jews of Kishineff, in Russia, details of which are printed on another page. The cruelties, the savage barbarism, the fiendish malignity exhibited are revolting in the extreme. We shrank at first from believing it possible that such acts could be committed in this century, in any country claiming to be civilized. Unhappily, there is now no room for doubt. The story told by eye-witnesses reads like the report of a brutal orgy in the interior of Africa, or in one of the Cannibal islands of the South Seas. It is an appalling revelation not only of the ignorance and depravity of the Russian peasantry, but of the supineness, if nothing worse, of the Russian officials. The mob, exasperated to madness by wicked calumnies, fell upon the Jewish citizens, sparing neither women nor children, old men nor babes, beating, mutilating and killing like savages. Apparently there was little or no attempt on the part of the authorities to check the blood-thirsty mob or to protect the property or lives of the victims. Such negligence must surely arouse the indignation of the Russian government. For its own sake, for the sake of its character in the civilized world, orders for a stern and swift punishment ought to issue from St. Petersburg.

The exciting cause was the old blood accusation, which has been used by the enemies of the Jews for centuries. The ignorant people, who did not know how often the charge has been made and refuted, were told that the Jews had killed a child, to procure blood for horrible Passover rites. To give this charge plausibility, the body of a murdered girl was conveyed into the Jewish quarter, and was then exhibited to the frenzied mob. The newspapers disgraced themselves by feeding the flame, though their own files must have borne witness to the wicked absurdity of the charge. The Jews were defenseless, and the work of spoliation, outrage and murder went on unchecked. It is a horrible story, an anachronism in this age of enlightenment and tolerance.

It is gratifying to learn that the efforts now being made in this country to send relief to the survivors of the massacre are succeeding. Many of the poor people abandoned all their property and fled for their lives. They need help, and the American Jews are giving liberally for the support of the fugitives. The movement deserves public sympathy and we are glad to see that it is receiving it from people of all ranks and creeds. Help ought to go in so large a volume, as to be a reproof to the lawless ruffians who committed the outrages, and to the educated officials who were recreant to their duty. They must be more dense than we think them, if they cannot read in the spontaneous gifts to the fund, the opinion of this nation, which they profess to regard as a friend. It should also be a lesson to the Jews themselves, convincing them that Christianity has no sympathy with outrages such as this, but only protest and abhorrence. They have had reason enough in the past to associate the Christian name with persecution and cruelty. In this hour of their sorrow they should have practical proof that for Christ's sake we mourn with them and sympathize with them in their affliction.

The proprietor of this journal is sure that its readers, whose sympathies are ever with the suffering, will wish to be represented in the fund for the relief of these God's persecuted people. He has therefore sent his check for one hundred dollars to the committee in charge of the relief measures.

[*Commercial Advertiser, New York, June 26, 1903*]

THE JEWISH PETITION TO THE CZAR

President Roosevelt has decided to forward, through the proper channels, the petition to the Czar from the B'nai

B'rith. This petition, as everybody knows, asks the Czar to consider the unfortunate condition of his Jewish subjects and to ameliorate that condition by granting them a fuller measure of religious liberty and civic right. The petition itself is written with extreme care and its language is most deferential. It commences with an apology for presenting such a request, in view of the fact that the petitioners are themselves citizens of another nation. It ascribes the motives of the petitioners wholly to their humanitarian sentiment. It expresses very gracefully a confidence in the Czar's merciful and liberal nature as evinced by his effective efforts directed toward the preservation of international peace.

This petition will be forwarded by the Department of State. In promising that this shall be done, Secretary Hay disclaims on the part of the President any responsibility for the possible attitude of the Russian government toward the receipt of such a document.

A great deal too much has been made of the alleged disfavor with which the Czar's ministers will view a petition of this sort. A rather sensational theory has been set forth, based upon a statement by Count Cassini to the effect that Russia will not receive any representations regarding the Kishineff incident from a foreign power. It has been suggested that Russia might sharply resent the action of the President in forwarding the petition. But Count Cassini's remark undoubtedly had reference to any official representation made by and from our government; and even in this case, he must have been speaking without having consulted the precedents. As a matter of fact, the United States has several times, through its representative at St. Petersburg, brought to the attention of the Russian foreign minister the hard lot of the Jews in Russia. This was done for the first time in 1882, during the presidency of Mr. Arthur; and it was done a second time in 1891, at President Harrison's suggestion, at the time when Mr. Blaine was Secretary of State. Hence we may reasonably conclude that if Russisa did not regard a direct communication from our government as being unfriendly or officious, it will probably be still less inclined to take umbrage at a perfectly respectful and temperate petition from a body of private individuals.

So much for the propriety of what is being done. As to its efficacy, however, there is no possible likelihood that the petition will have the slightest influence. In the two cases cited above, Russia never made any answer whatever, and in the present instance she will be still less likely to reply. The self-imposed task of the petitioners, therefore, in its practical results will conduce simply to their own satisfaction in having at least endeavored to do something for a cause which is very near their hearts.

[*Evening Journal, New York, May 13, 1903*]

RELIGIOUS HATREDS MOST HIDEOUS OF ALL

In religious quarrels the vilest of men commit the vilest crimes, spurred on by envy, greed and blind superstition combined.

In Russia, crimes of religion, such as disgraced all Europe a few centuries since, are threatening entire innocent and helpless populations.

These religious murders and their motive are preposterous as well as inconceivably brutal.

The Greek Church leads and encourages the persecution in the name of "God," and that very "God" is one borrowed from the Jews, but loaded down with hideous travesties of divinity, including a lust for murder.

First, the God of the Jews, with his commandments to Moses, is adopted or stolen, and then, in the name of this God, the Jews are denounced and murdered. It is as though Mussulmans should be butchered in the names of Allah and Mahomet.

The duty of the United States is to protest against these butcheries that shock the world.

In Roumania the "religious" murders of Jews were few compared with the Russian atrocities. Yet we did remonstrate with the Roumanian government. Our remonstrance, it is true, was feeble. But we did say something.

Surely we might say something to Russia, despite the fact that Russia is bigger than Roumania.

Unfortunately there is no doubt that the Russian outrages are far worse than reported.

The official organ at St. Petersburg, The Provitelsvenny Viestnik, contains in the issue of April 23 the following admissions:

> On the 19th and 20th of April the local Jewish community of Kishineff was attacked by a mob of workingmen. The riots began with the pillaging of Jewish shops and dwellings. Notwithstanding the efforts of the police and the troops, the ruffians spread over the town, smashing windows in Jewish houses, and occasionally also in Christian houses, pillaging or destroying property. The riots, renewed on the following day assumed a threatening character. Fights took place in which stones, sticks, crowbars and revolvers were used, whereby twenty-five persons were killed, about seventy-five seriously wounded, about two hundred only slightly. By order of the Minister of the Interior, the town of Kishineff and its district have been declared in a state of forced guarding.

When official Russia admits so much, the truth must be horrible.

The "enforced guarding" alluded to means an increase of the police force, for which increase the Jews must pay through their meat tax. Their "enforced guarding" has existed at Odessa for more than fifteen years.

What did these extra Russian police—paid by the Jews—do at Kishineff?

> They were at first passive onlookers, and afterwards drove the victims into their houses, simply handing them over to the barbarity of the infuriated population. Children were snatched from their mothers' arms and torn to pieces. The military when called out refused to obey orders.

So much we quote from The London Morning Leader.

The Russian government proves itself as cowardly as its cowardly mobs, in encouraging wholesale murder.

The United States will also play the coward if it fails to protest against these murders.

Certainly we should express our detestation of the plot to murder a race—and our national contempt for Russian cowardice and brutality should find national expression. This newspaper is sending to Russia special commissioners to report in detail and fully on the religious crimes. The people of the United States found a way of protesting against Spanish barbarism in Cuba, although Cuba was Spanish soil, when this newspaper published the facts and photographs. The American people will find means of impressing Russia.

[*Evening Journal, New York, May 15, 1903*]

HORRORS OF KISHINEFF AND THIS REPUBLIC'S DUTY

As the days pass and fuller details are received, the horror of the Kishineff massacre grows. About one-third of the town's population of 140,000 are Jews. Some of them were rich, and many well-to-do. Now all are poor and practically homeless. Their shops and houses were robbed and wrecked. Soup houses and barracks have been opened, and piteous appeals for aid have been made to the outside world.

Letters from the survivors to relatives in the United States and accounts which were not permitted publication in Russia disclose atrocities too frightful for plain description. It is officially admitted in St. Petersburg that forty-five Jews were killed and 424 injured, and that 1,500 shops and houses were looted. No doubt this is an understatement, appalling as the figures are.

"They fell upon us," writes the Zionistic Federation of Kishineff, "as hungry locusts. They have broken and destroyed what they could not take with them. Not a single Jewish store was left undemolished. The dead are scattered through the streets as after a bloody battle."

Letters tell how young children were killed by being torn apart. Women and young girls were dishonored. Men were not murdered simply. "First their ears were cut off, their noses broken, their arms and legs dislocated. Some were found with nails driven into their brains, ears and noses." The sexton of a synagogue was disemboweled. "In one or two cases women hiding in the garrets strangled their own babes that their cries might not attract the attention of the monsters from whom they were hiding."

"They began at the bridge, going through the city like a scourge, dealing death to every Hebrew they found."

"Children are looking for their parents, parents for their children, going from the hospital to the cemetery, back and forth."

Foreign correspondents agree that the motive for the massacre was religious. A Russian boy found was reported to have been slain by the Jews as a "ritual sacrifice." That such a story should have been believed proves the depths of superstitious ignorance in which the "Christian" population of the region is sunk. The mob showed the utmost fury in destroying the synagogues. The holy scrolls were dragged about, trampled upon and torn to pieces.

It is affirmed that the local authorities, civil and military, were apathetic, if not worse. Official ears are said to have been deaf when influential Jews, seeing signs of what was coming, begged that precautions be taken to protect the Hebrews. It is asserted that soldiers wearing the Imperial uniform were participants in the wholesale assassination and robberies.

The agonizing cry for succor which goes up from the Jews of Kishineff has been heard throughout the globe, and wherever other Jews live, there money has been raised.

The whole race is profoundly moved. In New York, Chicago, San Francisco, in every part of America, as well as in London, Paris and the other cities of Europe where the Jews have won for themselves position, property and influence, a spontaneous movement is on foot to afford relief. More than that, from the Jewish race the earth around there comes a prayer to men of enlightenment of every race and creed to join in an effort to stop this persecution of Israel, if stopped it can be by the voice of protesting civilization.

This movement should not be left to the Jews alone. The victims of the crimes which have wrung their hearts are Hebrews, but those crimes have been committed by men calling themselves Christians. Therefore the Christian world in the name of Christianity has had laid upon it a peculiar obligation to repudiate the bloody deeds of the ferocious brutes. And the sincerity of that repudiation can best be attested by a protest to the Czar so universal and so vehement that it will be effective.

Humanity is put to shame by the hideous work of the Russian mobs, fired with the same horrible religious bigotry that reddens the pages of medieval history. It is a fire which consumes manhood and justice and mercy, and every quality that raises a human being above the level of a ravening wild beast. If Mohammedans were responsible for the Kishineff massacre, and the massacred had been Christians, every pulpit would resound with impassioned demands for retribution upon the unspeakable Turk. But the murderers style themselves Christians. All the more reason therefore, why the voice of the pulpit should be heard demanding retribution upon the unspeakable Russian.

The Evening Journal repeats that a duty has been imposed upon the United States Government by the Kishineff massacre which cannot be evaded without dishonor. Enough is known, enough has been officially acknowledged in Russia, to justify a strong and prompt protest to the Czar. This Republic has a right to speak in behalf of outraged humanity and to speak as a representative of civilization. Were it needful to sweep aside the conventions of diplomacy in order to make this protest, then they could not be swept aside in a better cause. It is the privilege of a nation so great and powerful as ours to make precedents when occasion for breaking new ground occurs. But there is no necessity for transgressing international usage. Secretary of State Hay has supplied himself with a precedent by his letter of last year to the powers in the case of Roumania. In that letter he said:

> The United States offers asylum to the oppressed of all lands. But its sympathy with them in no wise impairs its just liberty and right to weigh the acts of the oppressor in the light of their effect upon this country, and to judge accordingly. * * * These helpless people, burdened and spurned by their native land, are forced by the sovereign power of Roumania upon the charity of the United States. This government cannot be a tacit party to such an international wrong. It is constrained to protest against the treatment

which the Jews of Roumania are subjected to, not alone because it has unimpeachable ground to remonstrate against the resultant injury to itself, but in the name of humanity.

Every word of that letter was true as to Roumania, and every word of it is no less true when applied to Russia.

If our government had the right to protest against the persecution of the Jews in Roumania—and who doubts that it had?—it has an equal right to protest against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

Let our government do its duty and speak.

Behind its voice there will be a united American people, among whom there is, and can be, but one feeling in the face of such horrors as those of Kishineff.

[*Evening Journal, New York, May 22, 1903*]

THE CZAR'S PROTESTATIONS EMPTY AS AIR

Many timid American newspapers are issuing warnings against national action in regard to the Kishineff massacres.

One set of newspapers tells the people that because our soldiers are engaged in war against armed bandits in the Philippines we have no right to protest against the murder of unarmed men, women and children in Russia.

Others declare that because lynchings occur in the United States we must tolerate and condone any crime committed against human rights elsewhere.

It would be well to say that because one low creature in our slums murders another the American nation had no right to protest against the Weyler butcheries in Cuba.

We protested against the Weyler butcheries in Cuba because those butcheries were not individual crimes committed without the consent of the government, but crimes committed with the highest government sanction. For the same reason the nation should protest against the Russian crimes which have government sanction.

Those who defend the Russian government and the Russian murders reveal very clearly the fact that they fear the consequences of irritating a power as great as the power of Russia.

Nearly all of them quote the "humanity" of the young Czar and his recent decree supposed to be a reform document.

In that document he says:

> While remaining strongly opposed to any violation of the normal course of national life, and having confidence that all will loyally discharge their local duties, we are irrevocably decided to satisfy the needs for which the State has become ripe, and have deemed it expedient to strengthen and decree the undeviating observance of the principles of tolerance laid down by the fundamental laws of the Russian empire, which, recognizing the Orthodox Church as the ruling one, grant to all our subjects of other religions and to all foreign persuasions freedom of creed and worship in accordance with other rights; and we are further resolved to continue the active carrying out of measures for the improvement of the material position of the Orthodox rural clergy, while enabling them to take a larger share in intellectual and public life.

This reads fairly well, although so closely united with subserviency to the national superstition, miscalled religion, that incites its followers to murder.

But while the Czar talks of granting religious freedom to all his subjects and to all foreigners, the fact is that the American citizen traveling in Russia does so at his own risk, if he be of Jewish faith. Our State Department issues circulars saying that it cannot guarantee the safety of Americans in Russia if they believe in the Jewish religion.

The Czar, while protesting his desires of reform, says: "We chose, in order to assure the well-being of our people, the way indicated by the memorable deeds of our predecessors, especially our never-to-be-forgotten father."

That never-to-be-forgotten father is the Czar who, in reply to a petition protesting against the murders of Jews, practically declared his belief that the murders were justified on religious ground.

The duty of the United States government is, at least, to demand absolute protection of the American citizen in Russia, no matter what his religious belief may be. In *demanding this protection for Americans, the United States* should express its opinion of the Kishineff murders and tell the Russians that no Russian can expect protection here while protection is denied to any American in Russia.

[*Evening Sun, New York, May 27, 1903*]

AN OFFICIAL DENIAL THAT DOES NOT EXPLAIN

If a dispatch from Odessa is authentic the police at Kishineff had no trouble in quelling a recent riot there and protecting the Jews from outrage. The authorities acted with great vigor on this occasion, and to prevent a recurrence of the trouble they raided a secret anti-Semitic meeting and arrested 200 of those present. The services of the military were not required.

The Official Messenger, of St. Petersburg, it should be noted, publishes an indignant denial that shortly before the slaughter at Kishineff the governor of Bessarabia received from Interior Minister Von Plehve a letter referring to the possibility of disorders there and directing him to check them, but not, however, to have recourse to the use of arms. It declares that such a letter does not exist, and that no communication on the subject was sent to the governor of Bessarabia. The inspired organ protests too much. For many days the trouble at Kishineff must have been brewing. That the portents of it escaped the notice of the police in a country where everybody is under espionage is not credible. The removal of the governor of Bessarabia by the Czar after the bloody mischief was done proves his complicity. That communications about the suspicious unrest in the town passed between the governor and the Minister of the Interior may be assumed. The Minister must have sent instructions. They probably would not bear the light of day, and a denial that a letter was sent preparing the Bessarabian authorities for the disturbances is probably true. There was no need of such a communication. Either the governor conducted himself as if he had received instructions not to deal harshly with the mob or there was no responsible government in Bessarabia. That the latter cannot be maintained is evident from the energetic action of the police in suppressing a later riot. The more the light is turned on the worse is the predicament of the Russian administration. A brutal and malevolent hostility to the Jewish population is manifest.

[*Evening Sun, New York, May 28, 1903*]

THE RIGHT KEYNOTE

The moderation of Mr. Cleveland's address at the meeting in Carnegie Hall to protest against the Kishineff outrage was its strength. He yielded to no man in his abhorrence of the treatment of the Jews by the unpoliced mob, and characterized the attack on them as "murderous, atrocious and in every way revolting." He called upon the people of the United States to protest "against every pretense of civilization that permits medieval persecution; against every bigoted creed that forbids religious toleration and freedom of conscience; against all false enlightenment that excites hatred and cruelty toward any race of men, and against all spurious forms of government protection that withhold from any human being the right to live in safety and toil in peace."

But, Mr. Cleveland's counsel was, let us be sure of the complicity of the Russian government before we ask our government to call St. Petersburg to account. He deprecated the assumption of Russia's guilt, although appearances were certainly against her. Carry the protest of New York to Washington, said Mr. Cleveland, but trust our government to care for the national honor and to give the humane instincts of our people the proper diplomatic expression, emphatic but guarded. He plainly intimated that international relations could not be carried on in a passion, however much it was justified. The applause which followed Mr. Cleveland's advice indicated that it had struck a responsive chord. He had not been misunderstood.

[*Evening Sun, New York, June 6, 1903*]

THE RUSSIAN POLICE VERSION OF THE KISHINEFF RIOTS

The official version of the Kishineff riots which M. Lopoukhine, the Director of the Russian Police Department, has given out, and which is printed in The Christian Herald, attempts to place the responsibility for the outbreak on the

Jews and to palliate the conduct of the police and military in not preventing the orgy of murder which occurred. M. Lopoukhine insinuates that the murder of a Christian boy, which was attributed "to the Jewish ritual habits," was one of the causes of the attack on the Jews, and that the striking of a Christian woman in the market place was another. He also says that on the Monday following Easter Sunday the Jews, "wishing to intimidate and inflict punishment on the Christian workers, began assembling in the market place in groups, armed with sticks and other weapons. The Jews, being the more numerous, had the better of it in the first two encounters, and a Christian was seen to fall, receiving a bullet wound." This disorderly behavior of the Jews, he says, "called forth the popular passion in all its abject force and abomination."

M. Lopoukhine admits that the police failed to intervene effectually after the rioting began. He says they "always leave much to be desired in provincial towns," and he finds a special reason for their impotence at Kishineff in the popular approval of the excesses of the mob. "Unfortunately," says the Director of Police, "the governor of Bessarabia did not make his appearance in person on Easter Sunday, and on Monday he gave over the command to military men, which he had no right to do, as he, in consequence, laid the police aside and, on the other hand, left the military forces without actual guidance. Troops can take towns by assault, but cannot carry out police duties without special instructions."

On its face M. Lopoukhine's explanation of the failure of the authorities to hold the rioters in check is lame, puerile and absurdly inadequate. It really amounts to a confession of voluntary incapacity, and between the lines one reads official sympathy with the purpose of the mob. Testimony on the other side leaves the report of the Police Director not a leg to stand upon. "A Russian gentleman of position, who was an eye-witness of the occurrences at Kishineff assures me," writes a correspondent of The London Times, "that the Jews did not in any single instance begin attacking the Christians, and that their behavior throughout was irreproachable. In his opinion the whole responsibility for the massacre falls on the shoulders of the administration, which could have prevented it with the utmost ease or have suppressed it at any moment after it had begun." A Kishineff lawyer, who drew up a report of what occurred on the fateful Monday, states that he went to the governor at 9 A. M., after the pillaging had begun but before murder had been done, and implored him to take energetic measures to protect the Jews. The governor assured him that he knew his duty and was doing it. The slaughter began several hours later. "Nowhere," says this witness, "was anything heard of any preventive measures or of any order to put a stop to the outbreak." Jews who appealed to the police were flagrantly insulted and no heed was paid to their prayers. "It was obvious to every one," says this lawyer, "that the whole riot came to an end when ball cartridges began to be distributed among the guards, and the rumor was circulated at 6 o'clock on Monday evening, when 'the rioters had begun to tire of their work of destruction,' that orders had been given to fire. The ruffians who had committed so many robberies and outrages were at once seized with fear and disappeared, and the military, when they were at last called upon to abandon their role of simple spectators and to play an active part, had no occasion to fire a single shot or to draw a single sword."

[*Independent, New York, May 21, 1903*]

THE KISHINEFF MASSACRE

In this country we understand how a wild and unreasoning passion can extend over an ignorant community and lead to the cruelest violence, for we have seen it, but not involving so many victims as the massacres of Armenians in Turkey or of Jews in Russia. Those pious Russian Christians actually believe that for their Passover the Jews want Christian blood, and that they catch and kill a Christian child; and when the rumor spreads that some child is missing they rise in crazy wrath and murder and torture the innocent Jews without mercy. We can do nothing about it, further than Secretary Hay did in the case of Roumania, when he protested that such persecutions drive thousands of exiles to this country and strain to the limit the power of our people to give aid or to find work for their support. These present massacres are in Bessarabia, a Russian province on the border of Roumania, where the same conditions and hatreds prevail. There race hatred and religious hatred are united. Think of it—religious hatred where we ought to have religious love; hatred for those of the race and religion in which our Lord lived, for the people of the blood of Peter, James, John, Paul and Mary, whose names we bear! We may now expect another flood of forced immigrants, exiles rather, such as came here after the massacres of twenty years ago. Our prosperous Jewish communities will readily give what aid they need, but they demand that the Jews of Russia and Roumania be allowed to live in peace at home. We condemn the conditions that breed such massacres, just as in the Italian Chamber a Minister condemned the uncivilized ignorance which allowed the lynching of Italians in this country. The mother of Emperor William is credited with the story of a man who rushed out of his shop and struck down a Jew who was passing. He was arrested and asked by the magistrate why he committed the assault. "The man belonged," he replied, "to the people who killed my Blessed Lord." "But that," said the magistrate, "was eighteen hundred years ago." "Perhaps so," was the reply; "but I never heard of it until yesterday."

[*Independent, New York, May 21, 1903*]

THE KISHINEFF ATROCITIES

From reports only now published in English and Russian newspapers, and from letters which reach this country from Odessa and Kieff, a pretty clear notion may be obtained of the Jewish massacre at Kishineff, on the 19th and 20th of April. Kishineff is a town of something over 100,000 inhabitants, in Bessarabia, in the southwestern part of Russia. The feeling against the Jews has been intense in that part of

Russia for some time. Not long before the Jewish Easter a Russian boy disappeared mysteriously, and a rumor spread among the people that the child had been killed by the Jews for the sake of his blood to be used in their Easter sacrifice. The body of the boy was found and examined by physicians, who assured the people that no blood had been drawn from his body, but their assurances failed to quiet the distrust. At dawn on Sunday morning, the 19th, the riots began in the city, being started by a number of Russian boys, who threw stones and insulted the Jews wherever met. The older people soon joined in the rioting, and before the day was ended a considerable part of the Jewish quarter was wrecked and pillaged. On the next day the rioting continued even more violently, and was only quelled finally by the intervention of the military. The description of the horrors committed during the riots is worthy of the darkest days of the Middle Ages. The number of Jews actually killed is given by different writers at numbers varying from 60 to 700, the latter figure including probably the people murdered in the villages and cities about Kishineff, if it is not altogether an exaggeration. The killing, however, was the least of the evils committed. Every kind of savage cruelty and mutilation was perpetrated, and age and sex were no defense against the brutal mob. Temporary hospitals have been prepared which are filled with the injured. A Russian correspondent of The London Times makes the Russian government at St. Petersburg responsible for the atrocities. He quotes what purports to be the text of a confidential dispatch, addressed by M. de Plehve, Minister of the Interior, to General von Raaben, Governor of Bessarabia, not long before the riots. A literal translation of the letter reads as follows:

MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR,
CHANCELLERIE OF THE MINISTER,
March 25th, 1903.

Perfectly secret.

To the Governor of Bessarabia:

It has come to my knowledge that in the region intrusted to you wide disturbances are being prepared against the Jews, who chiefly exploit the local population.

In view of the general disquietude in the disposition of the town populations which is seeking to vent itself, and also in view of the unquestionable undesirability of instilling by too severe measures anti-Governmental feelings into the population which has not yet been affected by the (revolutionary) propaganda, your Excellency will not fail to contribute to the immediate stopping of disorders which may arise by means of admonitions, without at all having recourse, however, to the use of arms.

V. PLEHVE.

The action of the authorities during the riots at Kishineff goes far to show that some such order was actually sent to von Raaben. Telegrams directed to the government at St. Petersburg, describing the state of affairs and asking for help were refused at Kishineff, under the pretext that such notices should come from the governor. Only after the delay of 24 hours was it possible to send telegrams from a neighboring town. At the end of the second day orders came from St. Petersburg to stop the rioting, and this was speedily accomplished by the troops. The indignation against Russia has been pronounced in strong language in many parts of the world, and considerable sums of money have been sent from New York and elsewhere for the support of the homeless Jews of Bessarabia.

[*Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin, New York, May 25, 1903*]

RUSSIA AT THE BAR OF CIVILIZATION

It is the questionable distinction of Russia to have excited oftener and more violently than any other nation counted as civilized the horror and indignation of the rest of the world. Seventy years ago the atrocious cruelties by which rebellion was stamped out in Poland evoked a chorus of international protest; a repetition of similar barbarities thirty years later stirred public sympathy so deeply in France and England that intervention was almost forced on their respective governments; there was hardly time to forget the sanguinary course of the policy which triumphed in the extinction of Polish nationality before the Jewish massacres of 1881 revealed again the savage that forms so large a part of the Russian, and people were still discussing the responsibility of the cold-blooded murder of thousands of helpless and harmless Chinamen in and around Blagowestchensk when the outrages of Kishineff added one more chapter to the ghastly record of Russia's crimes against humanity. The blackest pages of that record begin with the partition of Poland, and the Russian Jews are an inheritance from Poland, where under centuries of toleration they had multiplied and flourished as they did nowhere else in Europe. It was a retrograde civilization that came in with the Russian dominion, and Jew and Pole alike have had to pay the penalty of being higher in the scale of humanity than their Cossack conqueror. It is a relatively small section of the Empire in which Jews are permitted to live, comprising the confines of the old Duchy of Warsaw, the eight provinces of Western Russia, which formerly belonged to Poland, and the three provinces of Little Russia and the four divisions of South Russia, including Bessarabia. Western, Little and South Russia—these form the Jewish Pale of Settlement, and within these precincts the ordinary Russian Jew must live and die. He must not set foot in holy and orthodox Great Russia, in the Czardoms of Kasan and Astrakhan, or in Finland and the Baltic provinces. It was said years ago, and it is as true to-day as it was then, that this restriction within the Western provinces, applied to Jews alone of all the multifarious races, creeds and nationalities which go to form all the Russias, is the fount and origin of all the ills that assail Russian Jewry. While it is retained there is no hope of any permanent improvement in the condition of the Russian Jews. It cramps all their industrial and commercial energy, besides marking them out to their fellow-countrymen as aliens—a pariah caste set apart for special and degrading treatment. The only other Russian subjects whose place of residence is similarly restricted are discharged criminals.

The Russian Jews are governed under what is perhaps the most odiously unfair code of legislation in the world. Under the benevolent rule of Alexander II, an attempt was made to bring the Jew into terms of approximate equality with the other subjects of the Czar. For example, in 1865, the Czar issued a rescript allowing Jewish artisans to settle outside the Pale, and a similar privilege was allowed to Jewish youths on becoming full graduates or members of the learned professions. The improvement which had begun to manifest itself in the economic status of the Russian Jew was abruptly terminated by the notorious May Laws of 1882 under which the Jewish freedom of motion was still further restricted. With the gradual tightening of these enactments there followed the result which they were primarily intended to accomplish—the forcing of all the Jews into the towns within the Pale and the reduction of the number of those outside of it. Nothing but physical and moral degeneration could be expected of such a process, and both have attended it in deplorably full measure. Jews have always been the poorest class of all Russians owing to their large families and the heavy taxes which they have had to bear as a penalty for stubborn adhesion to their religion. The policy of cooping them up in towns only made their poverty more pronounced. As the result of investigations made by the Russo-Jewish Committee of London it was found that there were over 25,000 Jewish paupers in Berditschev, the Russian Jerusalem, and that throughout the Pale thousands of families had only one meal a day. The same committee pointed out that those who took refuge in England found life in a back slum of East London preferable to the extremity of misery they had experienced in Russia. Jewish philanthropists in London, who had taken pity on some of the victims of the sweating system, and offered to send them back to Russia, were met by the assurance that, wretched as it was, their life was luxury and comfort compared with their experience in the Russian Ghetti.

Briefly, whatever aggravation of the struggle of existence may have attended the congestion of Jews in the towns of Southwestern Russia, and whatever of popular prejudice and passion may have been excited by their unwelcome competition in all manner of petty occupations, are the direct consequences of the policy deliberately adopted and steadily pursued by the Russian government. It is a policy which can have but one intelligible object—the driving of every Jew from Russian soil—and in this aspect it very directly concerns the nations within whose borders these helpless people will be driven to seek refuge. Whatever right Russia may claim to manage her domestic affairs in her own way, this right obviously ceases to be absolute when the results of internal policy involve a penalty which other nations are forced to pay. The recurrent outbursts of savage popular hatred against the Jews in Russia are a perfectly natural consequence of the civil disabilities with which the government of the country has sought to visit an entire race. If these outbursts are to be checked it must be by the adoption of a totally different policy from that which has prevailed for the last twenty years. If Russian mobs, with or without causes of provocation, are to abandon the pastime of Jew-baiting, the Czar and his Government must themselves set the example by investing the Jew with such civil rights as are enjoyed by the rest of the people of the empire and by ceasing to regard the adherent of the Hebrew faith as a proper subject for persecution, degradation and contempt.

[*Leslie's Illustrated Weekly, New York, June 4, 1903*]

THE DUTY OF THE CZAR

The massacre of the Jews at Kishineff, with the hideous details of which all the world has been made familiar, could be regarded in a different spirit and involve the good name of the Russian empire to a less degree if it were simply a sporadic outbreak of mob fury, a sudden loosening of the brutal and beastly passions of frenzied men and women, such as is manifested in our lynching atrocities, and not the outcome or the culmination of a long series of crimes and outrages of a lesser degree perpetrated upon Jews by mobs of Russian fanatics stirred to action by the lies and slanders of anti-Semitic agitators.

The persecution and maltreatment of the Russian Jews have been carried on persistently and systematically for many years, fostered and encouraged by the Russian government with harsh, oppressive and discriminating laws applying to its Jewish subjects and adding immeasurably to their sorrows and miseries. Emboldened by this unjust and hostile attitude of the government toward the Jews, it has needed only a slight provocation now and then, or no apparent provocation at all, as at Kishineff, for mob passion to break loose and wreak itself upon those hated and persecuted people in awful and indiscriminate slaughter. The history of Russia for a century past is black with just such bloody deeds, such as the anti-Jewish riots at Odessa in 1868 and at Moscow in 1875, when thousands were slain and many thousands more despoiled of their possessions and reduced to beggary. Because of these persecutions and the unjust and intolerable conditions imposed upon them by the Russian government—crowding them into filthy and unwholesome ghettos and denying them the common rights and privileges of other Russian subjects—nearly a million of these people have been forced out of Russia during the past fifty years, a large portion coming to the United States.

It is because of these things, the barbarous and inhuman policy which Russia has openly followed for so many years in the treatment of the Jews, that the Czar's government may now be held justly responsible for the hideous and unspeakable atrocities committed at Kishineff. Such deeds are the natural and legitimate sequence of its own cruel conduct toward these same people; it has sown the seed for just such a harvest in its drastic and tyrannical laws imposed upon the Jews. In view of the attitude assumed by the government itself toward this class of its subjects, what more natural than that the ignorant, superstitious, and fanatical moujiks should come to feel that they had the sympathy, if not the absolute warrant, of the authorities in any excesses they might commit upon these hated and oppressed people.

It has been made clear that if the St. Petersburg officials were not directly implicated in the massacre of Kishineff, they were perfectly aware that an outbreak there was impending and they took no proper nor adequate steps to prevent it. The order issued by M. de Plehve, the Russian Minister of the Interior, to the governor of Bessarabia directing the latter to stop the threatened disorders by "admonitions," but without the "use of arms," coupled with the ministerial circular issued about the same time forbidding the Jews to defend themselves, come as near providing all the conditions for a massacre, as well as the stimulus thereto, as government orders could well do short of a positive command.

If Russia, therefore, would absolve itself before the civilized world for the horrors committed at Kishineff, it will revise its whole policy toward its Jewish subjects and cease to feed the flames of the unreasoning and unfounded hate entertained for these people within its dominions, by abandoning its proscriptive and discriminative laws bearing on the Jews, and swing itself into line here with other civilized nations in its treatment of these people. There is no reason why the Jews should be singled out for harsh and oppressive legislation in Russia any more than in France, Germany, or the United States, and no nation can claim for itself the respect of humane and enlightened men where such a course is followed.

If half that has found its way into print concerning the work of the rioters at Kishineff is true the massacre stands as one of the most dreadful of modern times, neither age nor sex being spared and even the bodies of the dead being horribly mutilated. It is inconceivable that civilized nations can stand by and permit such intolerable atrocities to pass unchallenged. The present Czar of Russia has justly won much honor and credit for himself by his rescripts in favor of universal peace and religious toleration. Let him now issue a third repealing all proscriptive laws in force against the Jews of his realm and guaranteeing to them the same security of life and property vouchsafed to his other subjects, and his government will be freed of its darkest blot and his fame be secure for all time.

[*Mail and Express, New York, June 25, 1903*]

THE RUSSIAN PETITION

President Roosevelt has made this government the avenue of communication by which the popular protest in this country against the Kishineff massacres will reach the Czar's government. His act is a step beyond purely unofficial representation and a step short of a direct official representation on the subject. That the plea embodied in the B'nai B'rith petition represents the sense of the American people there is, and there has been, no doubt at all.

There has been hesitation, on the side of policy, as to how far it was advisable to give the protest an official character. The President himself has been deliberate in choosing the course he should follow—properly deliberate because of the danger of disturbing our relations with a power with whom this country has a traditional friendship which it is reluctant to impair. He now makes himself the intermediary between American sentiment and the throne of Russia. It is an act of high humanity. If it breaks new ground in diplomatic methods, the precedent of our offer of our services to England during the Boer war argues that it should in no wise impair the amity that unites the two powers.

Behind this petition is the hearty godspeed of the American people. It will be well for humanity if the Czar shall receive it in the same spirit as that which animated it.

[*News, New York, June 22, 1903*]

AMERICAN CITIZENS BARRED

In spite of the thousands of protests and petitions presented to him, President Roosevelt has refused to make remonstrance to Russia on the subject of the Kishineff massacres. There still remains, however, one wrong inflicted upon the Jews—not Russian Jews, but American—which imperatively demands correction at his hands.

By treaty Russia has solemnly bound herself to accord to American citizens full liberty to enter and reside in all parts of her territory and has guaranteed to them the same security and protection afforded her own subjects. But in practice she arbitrarily violates this compact by barring all people of Jewish faith, including American citizens, from the rights secured by treaty. The rule of exclusion is applied to all Jews, whether they be natives of this country or citizens by adoption.

With all his tiresome boasts of aggressive Americanship President Roosevelt and his administration are actively conniving at Russia's policy of exclusion toward the Jews. In a State Department circular "naturalized Americans of Russian birth, of the Jewish race," have been warned that "they are not allowed to enter Russia except by special permission, for which the department cannot act as intermediary." And native American citizens, of Jewish faith, holding American passports, have recently been discriminated against by the Russian government without arousing the State Department to action.

If Russia is allowed to repudiate at will her treaty obligations to the detriment of those of one religious faith, why may she not raise the barriers against other creeds or sects? No distinctions between American citizens are possible unless this government acquiesces. "The badge of citizenship," as the Israelite Alliance of America declares, "should confer the right on every American citizen, armed with an American passport, to travel and sojourn anywhere unmolested."

[*Outlook, New York, May 23, 1903*]

THE KISHINEFF MASSACRE

Last week confirmation was received of a terrible two-days' massacre of Jews which had occurred at Kishineff, in southern Russia. Information from many sources seems to reveal a pre-arrangement as to the riot; for it started in a number of places in the town at the same time. The inciting cause of the outbreak, according to the Russian "Novosti," was the death of a servant-girl who had taken poison and was placed in a Jewish hospital of Kishineff. The anti-Semites claimed that she was killed for sacrificial purposes. In consequence, according to the "American Hebrew," Not only did the rioters kill and maim people, but they vented their brutish instincts upon the bodies of the dead. Nails were driven through their nostrils, bodies were opened and stuffed with feathers, tongues pulled out, breasts cut off the bodies of women. Nor were these the only ghoulish acts perpetrated. Jews tried to save themselves in every way. Many sought safety in flight only to find, as they reached the railroad station, that mobs were awaiting them who tore them from their carriages and beat them to death.

According to most accounts, about fifty persons were killed, hundreds wounded, and mutilated, and a thousand homes wrecked. When the authorities at St. Petersburg were tardily informed of the riot, orders were given to the military to use rifles, if necessary, to suppress the outbreak. On the first show of determination by the troops—a few volleys fired into the air—the assailants of the Jews slunk back. The majority of the persons arrested for participation in the outrage, says a dispatch from St. Petersburg, have now been tried and sentenced to varying punishments; although they were mostly arrested on returning to their homes after the second day's pillage with their arms full of plunder, all the prisoners protested their innocence and pleaded that they found the things in the streets and were taking them to the police station. Count Cassini, Russian Ambassador at Washington, says:

> I am sure that the reports have been grossly exaggerated. The most drastic measures have been taken by the Russian Government to prevent repetitions of the troubles, and the Government always has done all that is possible to prevent them. The Governors of provinces have been ordered to exert themselves to the utmost to preserve order, and have been informed that they will be held responsible for the peace of their provinces. The guilty, as apprehended, will be dealt with to the full extent of the law.

It seems incredible that in a Christian country such a massacre could have taken place; in endeavoring to repress similar atrocities in Turkey, Russia will now hardly have clean hands. At the same time, it must be admitted that the peasant population in southwest Russia, between Odessa and the Roumanian frontier, is hardly of a higher grade than that represented by the Turks. With characteristic promptness, the Jews in this country have organized a great relief fund, and have transmitted by cable generous amounts to the heads of Russian Jewish congregations for distribution.

[Outlook, New York, May 30, 1903]

THE KISHINEFF MASSACRE: WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

Last week, in the British House of Commons, Lord Cranborne, Under Foreign Secretary, publicly stated that the number of Jews massacred and maltreated at Kishineff was twice as great as the number mentioned by the Russian Government's official dispatches. It is quite possible that the Russian Government itself was misinformed at first; at all events, it has now apparently recognized the existence of universal censure and has removed General Raaben, Governor of the province of Bessarabia, presumably as a punishment for having failed to prevent, or promptly suppress, the anti-Jewish riot. This action on the part of the Czar and his advisers seems to indicate that they are ashamed of—or at least regret—the outbreak of murderous violence from which the Jews of Kishineff suffered; but it does not relieve them of direct—and still less of indirect—responsibility therefor.

When a government formally and deliberately discriminates against one class of its subjects; denies them rights granted to all others; permits its clergy to denounce them and excite religious feeling against them; and fails to check newspaper incitement to violence, though, by means of its press censorship, it has full power to do so, it cannot be allowed to throw on a provincial governor all the responsibility and all the blame for a catastrophe to which its own acts have contributed. The Russian Government has discriminated against the Jews, in a legislative way, ever since it acquired the territory in which most of them now live. The unrepealed laws relating to them, and to no other class in the empire, fill nearly three hundred closely printed octavo pages in the statute books, and touch almost every province of human life. If a Jew wishes to give his son an education that will fit him for a professional career, he finds himself stopped by a law restricting the admission of Jews to the universities. If he desires to become a farmer, or to bring his son up as a farmer, he runs against a law forbidding him to buy or rent land from either peasants or landed proprietors. If an estate happens to come to him by bequest, he is forced to sell it within six months. If he wishes to enter the Government service in any capacity whatever, he finds the door closed against him by legislative enactment. If he succeeds in getting a liberal education, in spite of all the obstacles thrown in his way by repressive legislation he is stopped on the threshold of his professional career by a law restricting the number of Jews that shall be admitted to the bar or that shall be allowed to practice medicine. If he is drawn as a conscript and goes into the army, neither exceptional ability nor distinguished gallantry in action will entitle him to a higher position than that of non-commissioned officer. He has to pay taxes from which all other citizens are exempt; he is denied the privilege which other citizens have of choosing his own place of residence; he is cramped and harassed by all sorts of exceptional decrees and regulations; and, finally, in ecclesiastical circulars as well as in official documents and speeches, he is contemptuously referred to as a "zheed" or "sheeny."

An illustration of the habitual tone taken by the Russian priesthood concerning the Jews is furnished by two recent ecclesiastical circulars issued by high officials in the Russian Church. The circular of the Bishop of Zhitomir and Volhynia denounces the "sheenies," declaring that all the economic distress of the Orthodox peasantry is due to them, and calls upon all priests and all loyal people living in Volhynia to "co-operate with the Government in the work of Russifying the country." Another circular letter from the highest ecclesiastical authorities in the province of Mohilef follows the same line, saying, "Who does not know that the original inhabitants of western Russia, including the province of Mohilef, have been reduced to poverty, in the fullest sense of the word, by the Jews? The latter have settled among them, have taken into their own hands all the markets, all the trade and industry of the province, and, in fact, almost the houses of the original Russian population, in town and country, and have crowded the Orthodox peasantry into out-of-the-way places, starving and ruining them completely." These are only samples of the sort of doctrine continually preached to the Orthodox peasants by their priests.

When a government, both by its political and its ecclesiastical officials, takes such an attitude as this toward one class of its citizens; when it shows, in a hundred ways, its hostility to them; singles them out for exceptional and sternly repressive legislation; and treats them, generally, as if they were not only a dangerous but a despicable element of society, it cannot justly throw the blame for the resulting catastrophe either upon the peasants who follow its lead or upon the governor of the particular province in which the disorder occurs.

But the responsibility of the Russian Government for the Kishineff massacre is even more direct than this. All of the liberal Russian newspapers agree that the feeling of hostility to the Jews in Bessarabia was fostered and encouraged, if not wholly aroused by a Judæophobe named Krushevan, who edited and published in Kishineff a newspaper called "Bessarabets" (the Bessarabian). The Department of Press Censorship, which is under the direct control of the Minister of the Interior, and which sends to the Russian press almost daily circulars of instruction with regard to matters that may or may not be discussed, allowed the "Bessarabets" to publish, day after day, for months, editorial articles filled with the bitterest abuse of Jews and the Jewish faith, and to excite religious bigotry and class hatred by every means in its power. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that the orthodox Christian peasants of the town, who knew that the "Bessarabets" was censored by the vice-governor of the province, should have believed that in beating and robbing the Jews they were carrying out in practice the governmental policy, and giving a salutary lesson to a lot of despicable "sheenies" who were enemies of the Czar and of his Holy Orthodox Church.

Nor can the Department of Press Censorship and the Minister of the Interior evade responsibility by saying that they did not desire nor anticipate this tragic result. Anti-Semitic riots are not a new thing in southwestern Russia, and experience has shown in many previous cases that where the peasants are ignorant and bigoted their passions are easily aroused by appeals to religious feeling and racial antipathy, and that tragedy is the inevitable result. If the Russian Government will set its people an example of justice and humanity by abolishing its class laws and dealing with Jews as it deals with its other citizens, there will be no more Kishineff massacres, and the Czar's proclamation of religious tolerance will perhaps be accepted by the civilized nations of the world as a sincere expression of an honest purpose.

The New York Evening Post has suggested that America must get rid of its own lynchings before it is in a position to remonstrate with Russia for its maltreatment of the Jews. But there is no ground for regarding the attitude of America and Russia in this matter as analogous. The Constitution of the United States guarantees all its citizens, whatever their race or religion, equal civil rights. Their equal political rights may be questioned, but no State, no courts of justice, no official, questions the equal civil rights of all citizens. Violation of these rights by sporadic mobs has had no approval by magistrates, no sanction by law, no justification by churches. The same voice in America which condemns lynch law here rightly condemns organized and applauded lynch law in Russia. Public opinion is limited by no geographical boundaries; and the voice of the whole civilized world should unite in condemning, not merely the massacres at Kishineff, but the laws and ecclesiastical appeals to prejudice which have incited to those massacres.

[*Press, New York, May 21, 1903*]

ANOTHER CRIME AGAINST CIVILIZATION AND HUMANITY

Secretary Hay doubtless appreciates fully the fact that just at this critical juncture a formal protest condemning the Kishineff massacre might be of little practical benefit, and even prove a veritable war-maker. He realizes that it is both a difficult and delicate task to approach a nation, and especially one so autocratic as Russia, on the subject of international administration, where it is not alleged that direct interests of the complainant are involved. Nations reserve for themselves in such cases the right to absolutely refuse to receive from another a communication in the nature of a criticism, and, no matter how desirous the State Department might be of mitigating the lot of the Jews in Bessarabia, it could not afford to run the risk of seriously aggravating the desperate condition of affairs in the East.

The fact that we have remained silent while Jews were being raided, robbed and murdered in Algeria and in other French territory, and in the territory of almost every other European nation could be used against us in case we sought to interfere in this instance, and, as other nations see us, when it comes to race disturbances, we are in no position to call the kettle black. While all this is true, it would seem that, if Secretary Hay protested against outrages in Roumania, there is no unsurmountable reason why he should not address a note of protest to the Russian government exclaiming against the merciless massacre at Kishineff. The truth about it is that the civilized world should always express its horror over revolting crimes of this kind, whether they occur in Roumania, in Russia or in our own country. European nations have their troubles and outbreaks similar to this revel in blood in Russia. Can France afford to protest against the mistreatment of the Jews in other countries? Can Spain, Germany, Austria, Turkey? There are reasons why even Great Britain can not afford at this time to interfere in affairs in Russia, albeit Great Britain is one nation which in these modern times really stands out for fair treatment of the Jews.

The United States occupies an independent position, and is friendly toward Russia. It may be true that, in some respects, we are not in a position to criticise others. It is even true that Russia and other countries might consider that we are not above reproach when it comes to this matter of race prejudice and oppression. If we have offended, then let Russia and the rest point out our offenses. When others offend their crimes should be likewise proclaimed.

Of course all the conditions at home and abroad must be cautiously considered, and we must not permit the enemies of Russia to use us in this or any other case. Of course it is fair that we should see that critical outsiders are unable to find trash before our doors before we proceed to instruct them as to how they shall keep house. It may be conceded that we must be extremely cautious in this particular case and at this particular time. Considering the circumstances and the inhumanity of the world as a whole, the enlightened American can but regret that this or any other enlightened nation should feel bound to let such brutal revel in blood pass without expressing horror and declaring condemnation.

Another crime against civilization and humanity has been committed, and the assassins have gone their way unpunished.

[*Press, New York, June 17, 1903*]

THE PRESIDENT ON RUSSIA'S HORROR

When President Roosevelt expressed to the committee of Jews who called upon him his horror at the Kishineff outrages he spoke for the whole American people. As President, however, he could go no further, for the reason that the Russian government had expressed not only its indignation at the murders but its determination to punish the criminals. To remonstrate after this would be to question the good faith of Russia, if not actually to suggest official complicity in the outrages or an indifference to them. Whatever the American people and even Mr. Roosevelt as an American citizen may think for themselves about the culpability of a government that tolerated a situation of which the massacre was the logical outcome, it was clearly impossible for this country, in view of the voluntary assurances of Russia that the murderers would be punished and the governor of the province removed, to go further than already has been done.

The President summarized the matter in his characteristically forceful and plain way when he said that Russia "takes the same view of those outrages that our own government takes of the riots and lynchings which sometimes occur in our country, but do not characterize either our government or our people." For all practical purposes the moral effect of the indignation which the massacres have aroused in all the civilized nations of the earth is bound to be greater even than a remonstrance from these governments. What has been done is the very limit that might be reached without investing the crime with a national responsibility, and this no country may do to another where the other country professes to have set in motion or actually does so all the machinery of its law for the punishment of the murderers. Russia is not likely to pass unheeded the universal moral remonstrance directed against a government under which the horrors of Kishineff were possible. A century ago and the massacre would practically have passed unnoticed. To-day it kindles a world-wide indignation, and that indignation by its moral force compels the most autocratic of despotisms not merely to disavow official participation, but to promise the utmost expedition in ferreting out and executing the criminals.

The committee which waited upon the President, while it could not hope and, perhaps, did not wish to have an official remonstrance sent to Russia, gained everything in an indirect manner that could have been effected. The expression of President Roosevelt's indignation and horror will be accurately interpreted in the quarter sought to be reached. It is as strong as this country could have received from Russia, if it is possible to imagine the positions of the two governments reversed. No American subject, as far as known, was among the unhappy victims, and Americans and their President took the only course open to them by giving voice to their condemnation of the outrages in the name of a common humanity.

[*Sun, New York, May 16, 1903*]

KISHINEFF

The blackest chapter in the history of Christianity is the cruelty of so-called Christians to the race of Jesus Christ. The worst medieval persecutions are equaled or exceeded by this Kishineff massacre. Murder and mutilation, robbery, outrage, exile; these are the penalties of the crime of being a Jew in southern Russia.

To Americans, men of many races and tolerant of all religions, this Kishineff savagery is especially abhorrent. Here, where millions of Jews have found freedom, peace and prosperity, the sympathy with the Kishineff victims is the warmest and widest; and here it will take the instant practical form of provision for the necessities of the new exodus.

The circular asking money for the purpose is signed by Hebrew names alone; but it appeals to all hearts and all pockets. And if any distinction is permissible in the work of humanity, the Christians, for the honor of their faith and name, are most concerned to aid.

[*Sun, New York, May 21, 1903*]

TEMPERATE JEWISH SENTIMENT

We are glad to observe among the most intelligent and influential Jews of New York great temperance of expression in the discussion of the subject of the outrages committed against their race at Kishineff. They are desirous of preventing any outburst of passionate vehemence which would tend to exasperate the hostile prejudices against which Jews are contending throughout eastern Europe and, to some extent, in Germany also.

This self-control was manifested markedly in the address by Mr. Leo N. Levi to the New Haven Jews assembled to express sympathy with their persecuted Russian brethren. As Mr. Levi is the President of the B'nai B'rith, a world-wide representative Jewish organization, his attitude is of the greatest importance. He deprecated excitement in the treatment of the subject. "When excitement prevails," he warned his race, "errors of lasting influence are likely to be committed." Assuming that the Russian government is responsible for the outbreak and execrating it "because of the murderous brutality of a frenzied mob," Mr. Levi holds to be "neither fair nor wise," for Russia "is not likely to treat with consideration any appeal for justice when it is coupled with denunciation." He sees that the status of the Russian Jews presents a permanent problem of extreme gravity, and is convinced that if the Jews of this country are to exert any influence for its improvement they must appeal to the Czar's "sense of justice and to the humane spirit he has so often manifested when ignorance, prejudice and lawlessness have assailed them." "In the prevailing excitement," therefore, Mr. Levi calls on the American Jews to "preserve their calm, keeping in mind the future as well as the present. Let us do nothing and say nothing that will cut us off from the right to make a dignified and manly appeal in the name of humanity to the dignity and manhood of the Czar."

The temperance of these utterances expresses the tone of the most intelligent Jewish sentiment in this country. Mere passion and violence of execration will tend to harm rather than benefit their brethren in Russia, more than one-half of the race in the world. They can undo no wrong done at Kishineff, and they distract the Jews here from the practical question which is now before them, the question of succoring the persecuted and of arranging to meet the heavy responsibilities brought to them by the great emigration from southwestern Russia to this country which Mr. Levi looks on as now certain to set in and to continue for years to come. At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the B'nai B'rith order, to be held during the coming summer, an appeal to the Czar in accordance with his recommendations is to be framed, and the public generally will be asked to join in it. Meantime, whatever pecuniary relief is required by the Kishineff sufferers and by refugees will be provided, and plans will be formed for dealing with the large emigration which is now expected.

Mr. Jacob H. Schiff sees no hope for the Russian Jews save in emigration. Already for ten years past and more they have been coming to this country in great numbers, and the problem of so large and sudden an addition to the Jewish population of New York, more specifically, already serious, promises to tax hereafter even more heavily the philanthropy and practical judgment of the American Jews.

[*Sun, New York, May 23, 1903*]

RUSSIA'S OWN DUTY

The latest news from Kishineff indicates that the appeal with which the chairman of the Kishineff Relief Committee of the Osceola Club, Deputy Attorney-General Blumenthal, asked for assistance fell short of a just description of the fact:

> It is sufficient to know that in the twentieth century a nation making pretense to a desire for advanced civilization and enlightenment by its persistent refusal to give religious or political liberty to its natives of a particular faith has engendered and fostered a bitterness against them that has produced one of the darkest blots upon the pages of ancient and modern history.

" One of the darkest blots upon the pages of ancient and modern history!"

The spread of civilization throughout the world, and in Russia particularly, whose ruler has lately assumed a foremost place in confirming the influences of peace and humanity, makes the Kishineff massacre simply the " darkest blot on the pages of ancient and modern history." A dozen lives taken in this way in the twentieth century outweigh thousands taken in the dark ages.

Russia ought to fine herself for this crime by apologizing to the world and by at once appropriating from her own treasury a greater sum of money for the relief of the outraged people of Kishineff than all the world outside contributes.

[*Sun, New York, May 28, 1903*]

THE CZAR AND THE MASSACRES

The time that has passed since the Kishineff massacre has brought nothing to mitigate the atrocities first reported. The delegate sent from Berlin by the German Jewish Aid Society reports the demolition of 700 houses, the sacking of 600 shops and the rendering homeless of 10,000 persons. The killed numbered nearly fifty, and the injured were nearly

600. And the Jews throughout the empire are living in terror of further outrages.

The statement put forward by The Official Messenger of St. Petersburg, denying the authenticity of the letter from Minister Plehve which revealed foreknowledge of the massacre, shows that the Russian government is not unmindful of the opinion entertained of it by the rest of the world. The Czar, however, cannot afford to rest content with the publication of a letter concerning what has passed. To a suspicion of inefficiency there will be added a conviction of insincerity unless he lets his hand be felt strong enough to make the spirit of riot against his Jewish subjects afraid to show its face.

[*Sun, New York, June 7, 1903*]

DAY AND NIGHT IN KISHINEFF

It is useless for Count Cassini or any other representative of the Russian government to seek to palliate the savagery at Kishineff. The report of Mr. Thomas E. Heenan, the United States Consul at Odessa, to the State Department shows that the massacre and the attendant and subsequent outrages have not been embellished or exaggerated. A Washington dispatch, printed in The Sun yesterday, quoted from Mr. Heenan's report the assertion that "the reason the slaughter began in the daytime, and was not continued at night was that the murderers were too busily engaged after dark in ravishing Jewish girls and women."

The imagination of Swift in his darkest and most terrible hour could not have invented a detail and explanation so horrible. The day for the murder of the Jews; the night for the dishonor of the Jewesses.

Mr. Heenan has long been known to us as a man of discretion and sobriety of judgment.

The Kishineff affair grows worse the more it is investigated. It was not a crime against the Jews alone. It was a crime against humanity. With that belief the public meeting to-night in this city will be inspired.

[*Times, New York, May 17, 1903*]

RUSSIA BEFORE THE WORLD

What the civilized world demands and has the right to demand of the Russian government is the truth in regard to the massacre at Kishineff and the punishment of the guilty proportioned to their crimes. Every civilized government with which the Russian government desires to maintain relations is entitled to make known this demand.

The facts that have come to the knowledge of the public in other lands are almost too horrible for belief and quite too horrible to be ignored. The evidence, though scattered and fragmentary, is conclusive as to the main features of the occurrences. It is beyond dispute that on the days following Easter Sunday, the Jewish residents of the populous and thriving city of Kishineff were attacked in the streets and in their houses by a partly organized mob, that some two hundred of them were killed or mortally wounded, that large numbers were brutally beaten, that atrocities of inconceivable cruelty and savagery—beyond the tolerance of actual savages—were committed, that the police either failed to check or directly incited the mob, that soldiers took part in the slaughter and outrages, and that violence was accompanied by extensive robbery and destruction of property and by desecration of the synagogues. Everything that civilized government exists to protect was loosed to the passions of the rioters and the forces that should have controlled the rioters aided or upheld them.

No government that bears this sort of thing can be called civilized or can ask the respect of decent governments. It is a matter that cannot be screened by the plea of national independence, for no nation in the modern world is independent of the conscience of mankind. The plain duty of the Russian government in the premises is to ascertain the truth in a way that will satisfy other governments that it is the whole truth, and then to punish the guilty in a way that will also satisfy other governments that Russia is within the pale of civilization and can be dealt with as an equal among civilized nations. While other governments cannot forcibly impose their standards of decency on Russia, they can make it plain to Russia on what terms she can avoid the just detestation of the rest of the world. In such action all governments and especially our own would be sustained by the profound and united sentiment of the people.

[*Times, New York, May 18, 1903*]

THE GOVERNMENT AND HUMANITY

What has been described in our dispatches as the "official" view of any action on the part of the United States government in relation to the horrors at Kishineff is nearly enough diplomatically "correct" to escape criticism from diplomats. We cannot regard it as conclusive.

It is true that in ordinary circumstances, any communication from our government to that of Russia expressing the opinion of our government or our people as to occurrences within the borders of Russia would be exposed to the reply that we were transcending the usual limits of discussion between governments. But the circumstances are not ordinary and they justify unusual treatment. It is of record that our ambassador at St. Petersburg did bring to the attention of the Minister of Foreign Affairs the reports concerning the outrages, and that he was induced to send to our government the statement of the Minister denying that outrages had taken place. So the customary rule has so far been disregarded, and our government, as well as our people, has been misled. That shows that there are conditions in which conventional restrictions are put to one side. It would seem to show also that they might be still further put aside.

If with more serious provocation arising from the numerous and consistent accounts of the terrible events of Easter week our government should now go so far as to express to the government of Russia the sentiment that has been aroused in the United States by the outrages perpetrated on the Jews of Kishineff, pointing out at the same time the existence in this country of large numbers of the race that has suffered and the effect necessarily produced by such persecution in driving to our shores people filled with indignation toward Russia—if such a presentation of facts were made candidly, we believe that it would do some good and no harm. We do not think that the Russian government is so indifferent to the public opinion of the civilized world that it would resent such a communication. If it did resent it we cannot imagine that the situation would be any worse than it would be if the sentiment were entertained, as it must be, and silence were observed.

It is suggested that Russia might reply with references to acts of brutality, lynching and mob violence in our own country. On the other hand, the answer would be that there is no central and controlling police authority in the government of the United States as there is in the government of Russia, and, on the other hand, there well might be a frank acknowledgment by our own government that such occurrences are in the last degree discreditable and humiliating, that we should do all in our power to prevent or punish them, and that we recognize the justification for severe condemnation by any and all other peoples. Such an interchange of views would not be without wholesome effect on both sides. If Russia could be made to understand in a formal and responsible communication the deep detestation of the barbarity of Kishineff, we believe that a recurrence of it would practically be made impossible.

[*Times, New York, May 20, 1903*]

THE JEWS OF RUSSIA

According to information received by the British government which was communicated to the House of Commons by Lord Cranborne yesterday, about one hundred Jews lost their lives in the massacre at Kishineff, and many more were injured. Accounts previously received by the press had put the number of the slain at about fifty. It is to be assumed that the British Minister has good sources of information; at any rate there is not the slightest reason to doubt that the outbreak against the Jews took the form of savage butchery, a barbarous and most inhuman venting of murderous passion, making the massacre an event conspicuous and shameful, memorable in the chronicles of human cruelty. It would be supposed that in the eyes of all the world, of every humane person, the bloody atrocity of the affair, its lawlessness, and its frightful incongruity with the professions and practices of modern civilization, would be its dominating features, quite excluding for the present philosophical inquiries into the cause and nature of the passion which found vent in all this spilling of human blood.

We confess, therefore, to a feeling of surprise at the utterances attributed to the Russian ambassador at Washington, who in a press interview is reported to have commented at some length upon the painful news from Kishineff. Count Cassini undertook to give an explanation of the Russian feeling against the Jews. It was the same in Germany and Austria, he said; the reason is to be found "in the fact that the Jews will not work in the field or engage in agriculture. They prefer to be money lenders." He explains that they take advantage of the Russian peasant, get him into their power, and ultimately destroy him; then when his patience is exhausted he turns upon the Jew and a conflict occurs. The hatred of Jews, he declares, is not racial or religious in its origin. It is due to the ruin of the peasants through the practices of the money lenders —with much more to the same effect.

We are unable to find in the report of the interview with the Russian ambassador any expression of censure against the murderers of the Jews in Kishineff, any condemnation of the rioters and slayers or of the authorities who permitted the dreadful work to go on. We fail to find even any intimations of a feeling of sympathy or of regret that these occurrences should be reported from this distinguished diplomat's own country. We point out these omissions in Count Cassini's interview not only because they are really surprising and will be observed with regret by Americans, but in order to express the hope that they are the result of a pure oversight. It cannot be believed for a moment that the Russian ambassador is wanting in those sentiments of common humanity which have moved the people of this great nation almost without exception to feel deeply and speak frankly upon the subject of the Kishineff massacre.

It is deeply painful to us that these shocking acts should have been perpetrated in one of the cities of a country with which we have traditional friendly relations—so friendly as to give rise to the feeling in many minds that we may almost presume upon our friendship to utter some sort of polite official remonstrance. In many circles this feeling has taken the pronounced shape of requests to the President or the Secretary of State to remonstrate with the government of the Czar. Whoever scans our diplomatic history and the published diplomatic instructions which embody the traditions of our nation in its relations with other powers will readily understand how impossible it is that we should interfere in a matter which, however shocking it may be to our sense of humanity, is nevertheless one of local administration. It is not shown that any American citizen was subjected to outrage or oppression at Kishineff, and in the absence of proof of that nature we are estopped from taking official cognizance of the affair. We have sometimes, notably in the case of Russia, instructed our diplomatic representatives to say in a quite unofficial manner that the feeling of friendship which we entertain for the government in question has prompted our government to express the hope that means would be found to put a stop to acts of persecution. That is as far as we can go in any case without violating the usages of nations and exposing ourselves to a rebuff. It is as far as we can go in this case—even if we go so far. But the Russian government will by no means be uninformed of the sentiment of the American people in respect to the massacre at Kishineff. No nation, no empire, however great or powerful, can with impunity expose itself to the accusations which would with justice be brought against the government of his Imperial Majesty did it fail to take the stern measures which in any other civilized government would certainly be taken to punish these murderers and to make similar outbreaks in future improbable.

[*Times, New York, May 21, 1903*]

OFFICIAL RUSSIA AND THE JEWS

We ought frankly to acknowledge the importance of the step taken by the Russian government in removing Gen. Von Raaben as governor of Bessarabia. The report that he was removed at the personal insistence of the Czar, and that the removal was resisted by the organized Russian bureaucracy can be but a piece of gossip, or rather an inference naturally arising from what we know of the temper of the Czar and the temper of the bureaucracy. But the fact ought none the less to be put to the credit of Russia. There can be no doubt of the reality of the punishment. To be transferred from the governorship of a province, with all the opportunities that Russian and Chinese Viceroys know so well how to employ, to a subordinate place in a bureau at St. Petersburg is not only a degradation but a heavy fine. Considering that the governor's offense was one of omission only, this would, in most countries governed without law, be accepted as a sufficient and appropriate penalty.

We have been cautious about commenting upon the infamous dispatch purporting to come from the Russian Minister of the Interior, and signed by his name. It has been accepted as genuine by the British press, and it has now been before the public for three days without eliciting any denial of its genuineness. Put into plain language, it tells the governor of Bessarabia that preparations are making for a massacre of Jews in his province; that such preparations were to be expected, and that the destined victims deserved to be killed, but it was desirable that they should not be killed unless to prevent killing them might give rise to political agitation against the government. Upon the whole, the governor was exhorted to prevent the massacre if he could do so by moral suasion, but by no means to suppress it by force.

If these "bloody instructions" were genuine, Gen. Von Raaben may maintain with perfect justice that he observed them in the spirit and to the letter. He may justly complain that he has been ill-treated by his superior for doing precisely what he was told to do. Clearly, always assuming the authenticity of what has not been denied to be authentic, the Czar's horror of massacre would have had more effect if it had been directed to the author of the instructions, and not to the governor who merely obeyed them. And, still upon the same assumption, what are we to say of the civilization of a country in which a Minister can put his name to such instructions?

[*Times, New York, May 23, 1903*]

RUSSIAN APOLOGIA

There is something of the flavor of "confession and avoidance" in the official statements of the Russian authorities as to the atrocities at Kishineff.

Count Cassini's overingenious statement is riddled by the counter-statement of Dr. Cyrus Adler of the Smithsonian Institution. The extremely hardy plea of the Count that the Jews of Russia expose themselves to popular aversion because they will not engage in agriculture, as does the simple-minded moujik, seems ridiculous in the light of the fact that the laws of Russia, or, rather, the edicts of its government, which have the force of law, forbid the Jews to migrate from the towns to the villages, and, further, shut them within the limits of the Pale. Even within the narrow territory they are allowed to inhabit, the Jews cannot enter any of the professions except under the harshest restrictions, cannot attend the colleges or schools, some of them founded by their own people, save in restricted numbers, cannot become officers of the army in which they are compelled to serve, cannot enter the civil service in any capacity; in short, are practically forced by the government to be traders and money lenders. At the same time it is to be noted that the mob at Kishineff was not excited by animosity toward the Jews for their business, but by the queerly joined motives of religious hatred and greed for plunder.

The simple fact is that the Russian government, like the Russian people, must be judged by the standard of civilization attained in the Middle Ages, and pretty early in those ages, if they are to be excused for their attitude or their action in this matter. Both the government and the mass of the people seem to be actuated by the feelings that were common in Europe from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. They are apparently utterly ignorant of the effect that reasonable liberty and chance for development would have on what may be objectionable in the character or customs of the Jews. Hatred and covetousness seem the chief sentiments entertained toward the unfortunates. Every official utterance relating to the recent horrible massacre is instinct with these feelings. And then the upper class among the Russians are indignant that their country is regarded as uncivilized! Personally many members of this class are agreeable and polished. The class as a class does not need to be scratched deeply to reveal the Cossack to whom Napoleon referred.

[*Times, New York, May 28, 1903*]

THE JEWS AND THE GOVERNMENT

The right to petition for the redress of grievances, a right guaranteed by our Constitution, has been exercised by a Jewish deputation from Kishineff. This deputation visited St. Petersburg with the object of prevailing upon M. Plehve, the Minister of the Interior, to issue an official circular declaring that the Jews of Russia are under the protection of the law and that outrages upon them will be punished.

This is the right course to take, exactly the right course, and it is the most hopeful direction in which the Jews can seek to protect themselves against mob assaults. Of course, in any other civilized country the government would not wait to be petitioned. The Jews would be protected and their assailants would be imprisoned. But in Russia both the government and the people are hostile to the Jews—a fact which has been many times demonstrated. Nevertheless, it will be impossible for the Minister of the Interior to deny this petition unless he is willing to avow that the murder of Jews is a national policy which the government wishes to encourage. The people of other nations have learned with satisfaction that M. Plehve did not send to the governor of Bessarabia the letter attributed to him which directly encouraged the outbreak against the Jews. The good impression the minister has thus created will at once give place to a most unfavorable view of his sense of justice if he declines to comply with the demand of the Jews of Kishineff.

The demand is something more than reasonable. It is such a demand as can be refused only by a government not reasonable, humane, nor civilized. The Minister certainly owes it to the reputation of the Empire to declare officially that Russian law does not permit murder, and that those who violate the law against murder will incur its penalties.

Delicate and difficult as is the question of any interference with the domestic concerns of a sovereign nation, it ought to be evident to the ruler of the Russian Empire and his Ministers that the murder and persecution of Jews cannot go on indefinitely without involving serious consequences to Russia. The feeling of horror and indignation to which this savagery gives rise throughout the civilized world is in many ways harmful to Russia and the Russians, and ultimately other powers will be put in a position where they will have the right to make official protest. Persecution of the Jews, if continued, must necessarily result in their emigration in large numbers. Countries to which they betake themselves penniless, dependent, and helpless will by no means regard with indifference the policy that drives them forth. The refusal of the Minister of the Interior to issue the proclamation demanded by the Jews of Kishineff would be a blunder of considerable magnitude.

[*Times, New York, June 6, 1903*]

THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE JEWS

The Journal de St. Petersbourg for the 29th of April (12th of May) gives in full the text of the official circular issued by the Ministry of the Interior to the governors, prefects, and chiefs of police with reference to the riots at Kishineff. It is remarkable for the admissions of fact made in it and for the inadequacy of the measures ordered to be taken to meet like cases in the future.

It is stated in the circular that 45 persons were killed at Kishineff, 74 seriously wounded, 350 more or less injured. and 700 houses and 600 shops of the Jews pillaged. The work of murder, violence, and pillage was carried on during the afternoon of Easter Sunday and into the evening and during the whole of the next day and evening. The police patrols were "insufficient in number," and even when the troops were called out, "they failed at first to repress the disorders, because of the defective measures taken by the police, who had evidently not received the required instructions." And it was not until "the troops were distributed in systematic manner in the various districts that the disorders ceased." The primary cause of the disturbance is stated to have been the regular and considerable circulation of "rumors" that "many Christians had been put to death for ritual purposes by the Israelites." These "inventions" had been "propagated toward the end of March and the beginning of April" by means of "written sheets," and had greatly excited the people and the working classes especially. On the other hand mention is made of attacks made on the morning of the second day by Jews upon the people of Kishineff.

On the facts here summarized the circular proceeds to say that the Emperor has "deigned to repeat to the Chiefs of Provinces and Cities the injunction that it is their duty, on their personal responsibility, to take all requisite measures to forestall acts of violence and tranquillize the populace so that it can have no fear as to life or property." Then follow the specific instructions for attaining this end urged by the Emperor. They do not impress an impartial observer as either logical or effective. They are confined to orders to the officials in the first place to tolerate no organization (group) for defense; in the second place orders are given to the civil authorities not to call on the military save as "an extreme measure for the restoration of order." One might infer from these instructions that the Jews of Kishineff had been the aggressors and wrong-doers, and that the military had been prematurely and needlessly called in, which is quite the contrary of the facts as stated in the circular itself. It is true that the Jews are declared to have begun the fighting on the second day, but not the slightest reference is made to any difficulty in suppressing them, and it is expressly stated that "immediately after this incident the disorders were recommenced throughout the whole city, and degenerated into a massacre of the Israelites and a general pillage of their habitations." It is not easy to see how the officials to whom this circular is addressed would be incited by it to take effectual steps either to prevent further violence or to repress it. Since the circular is published for the information of the public and, presumably, for that of the outside world, it is deeply to be regretted that it is not more reassuring.

[*Times, New York, June 7, 1903*]

RUSSIA BEFORE THE WORLD

It is gratifying to notice that the Russian government is showing greater sensitiveness to the opinion of the world in the matter of the Kishineff "massacre"—we use the language of the official account of the disorders—than it has ever before shown on any like occasion. This is manifested not only in measures which appear to be directed to the punishment of those directly responsible for the horrible occurrences, but in the explanations intended to mitigate the indignation of the foreign public. And it is noteworthy that the government is inclined to bring to the attention of our own Department of State what it regards as exaggerated or harsh expressions as to its own course.

So far as the United States are concerned it is not surprising that the Russian officials should deplore and even resent some of the utterances that have publicly been made here in this matter. The Russians of the governing class have been strongly desirous of the cordial friendship of our people, and have made earnest efforts to obtain and strengthen it. Traditions are favorable to it. We have no points of conflict of any serious nature with the Russian political policy in any part of the world. We have had occasion to present a somewhat different point of view from that of Russia in China, and we have had the dispute as to the sugar "bounties." But the Russians have met us in these affairs with every expression of a desire to adjust matters, and there is reason to suppose that in time they will fairly be adjusted. That at least is the professed expectation and desire on the part of Russia. The very general and emphatic expression of feeling as to the Kishineff matter seems to the Russian government a surprising and disappointing manifestation of American temper, and there is a good deal of complaint in regard to it.

We think that the complaint is unreasonable. As we have already pointed out, the official statements of the Russian case really do justify the feeling that has been prevalent here. Even if the extent of the outrages has been magnified their nature is admitted. And we venture to call the attention of the Russian government to one fact which has had much effect on the sentiment of this country. It is the manner in which the Russian ambassador treated the affair in his first public utterances regarding it. Practically he excused what took place. He did not in the least express either condemnation of it or regret for it. He undertook to explain it by statements that were known perfectly well in our country to be inexact regarding the character and occupations of the race who were the victims of violence. He has not, so far as we are aware, denied the reports of his utterances or corrected them. They produced a most unfortunate impression upon the public mind in this country. This, to some extent, the government has appeared to wish to remove. But it is not easy to do that so long as the original utterances remain undenied and unrebuked. Really it is hardly too much to say that the worst enemy to friendly feeling toward the Russian government in this country is its own representative.

[*Times, New York, June 10, 1903*]

THE EFFECT ON RUSSIA

We have already alluded to the evidence of a slowly forming and steadily strengthening public opinion in Russia that tends to check the abuses of arbitrary power. To the force thus engendered it is plain that the earnest discussion of the recent outrages is bound to contribute, and it is undoubtedly with the consciousness of that fact that the more reactionary of the governing class resent this discussion and would be glad if they could see some means of stopping it.

There is among the Russians, especially in the more educated classes, a strong sense of national pride. Even the modern literature that is condemned by the arbitrary among the rulers bears constant testimony to this spirit. "The Russian character," which the reactionaries plead as the compelling force which keeps the empire autocratic, and makes all attempts at reform either dangerous or futile, is the object of affectionate appreciation by Russian writers, who, of course, interpret it in a different sense. But among all classes that may be called articulate and whose feelings find expression, there is a sober but intense love of Russia and a longing that she shall stand well before the great outside world which so imperfectly understands her. It is to this feeling that, in one way and another, the wide and emphatic expression of public sentiment throughout all civilized countries addresses itself.

This is especially true as to the spontaneous and general movement which has taken place in America. Our people is recognized as friendly by tradition and actual relations. Our government has always, and never more than in the recently trying times, been extraordinarily careful to conduct itself with all possible "correctness" in its intercourse with that of Russia. We are known to be the only first-class power in the modern world that has and can have no points of conflict with the political aspirations of Russia. The very fact that we are a republic and that no dynastic jealousies can arise in this quarter has in some ways made it easier for the ruling classes in Russia to maintain toward us a sympathetic attitude. And in the great body of educated Russians who are not involved in the bureaucracy America has gradually become the embodiment of the possibilities of a great, powerful, expanding people, such as their own, under the conditions of democracy.

It is inevitable, therefore, that the extremely strong and general sentiment expressed in so many different ways in this country should have decided influence in Russia. And, on the whole, that influence must be helpful. It must strengthen those who feel, as multitudes of Russians must feel, the inhumanity, the injustice, the uncivilized nature of the outrages at Kishineff. These cannot wholly be ignored when they protest to the governing classes that their policy brings the whole Russian nation into disrepute. The members of the bureaucracy themselves cannot be entirely indifferent to this disrepute. What is of even greater importance, manifestations of such extent and seriousness cannot be kept from the Czar, who is more easily misled as to what goes on in Russia than as to what goes on abroad, and who has given strong indications of his sensitiveness to foreign opinion. The result in the long run, we are confident, will be a closer approach to fair and humane treatment of the Jews in Russia.

[*Times, New York, June 12, 1903*]

THE ATTITUDE OF RUSSIA

The "authoritative statement" printed in our Washington dispatches yesterday, which sets forth the attitude of the Russian government in respect to the Kishineff massacre is without serious importance save in one particular. The world knows already that Russia would be unwilling to receive from other countries representations concerning her own internal affairs. That is the position of every sovereign nation, an attitude to which in ordinary circumstances no objection can be made. We may regret that Russia declines to receive outside aid for the sufferers in Kishineff. We certainly should like to know that those imperial resources to which the statement alludes will be employed for this humane purpose. But again this is a matter in respect to which Russia can exercise an unquestioned right of choice.

One paragraph of this authoritative statement, however, is invested with a graver degree of interest and importance. It is this:

> Should any foreign power take steps to restrict emigration of Russian Jews on the ground that they are undesirable Russia will not protest. She admits the right of every nation to say who shall come through its gates and who shall not. Should any country as a result of the Kishineff incident adopt measures restricting immigration of Russian Jews, Russia will regard such a step only as a defensive measure on the part of the power taking it, and not in the light of a reflection on the Russian government.

The question is not, speaking for ourselves, of our right to "take steps to restrict immigration of Russian Jews." We are not at all concerned to know that Russia will not protest against our exercise of that right. We are concerned, every civilized and well-governed nation is concerned, to know whether the government of the Czar will pursue toward Russian subjects of the Jewish race a policy which must force them to seek refuge elsewhere. We have willingly received immigrants who have come to us of their free choice to better their condition. We have invited and encouraged their coming. Sturdy and self-reliant men and women who have crossed the ocean to avail themselves of the opportunities which this land offers to industry and thrift have become the blood and bone of our citizenship. We do not regret this hospitable policy pursued by us from the beginning. But when immigrants come to us not of their free will, but fleeing in terror from the unchecked barbarities of their fellow-men, the culminating atrocity of a studied policy of wrong and oppression, which drives them forth penniless, helpless, broken in body and spirit, and casts them upon our shores as the first and readiest sure refuge, our attitude must of necessity undergo a change. There we shall exercise the right of protest, not, indeed, by closing our ports to the wretched victims of inhuman oppression, but against the authors of their misery, whoever they may be. However distasteful to Russia it may be to receive representations which savor of interference in her domestic affairs, she must understand, and she will be made to understand, if occasion arises, that we do not in this matter present one face to feeble Roumania and another to the powerful empire of the Czar. Secretary Hay's letter of indignant protest against the policy of the Roumanian government which forced the wretched Jews of that country into exile and drove them to the United States would be applicable, with only the necessary change of names, to Russia should her government by heartless indifference or open conniving permit the plundering, the maiming, and the killing of her Jewish subjects to go on unchecked. There can be no doubt that continued inhumanity to the Russian Jews will force them to seek their safety abroad, most of them here. They will come to us dependent and helpless, a new charge upon our charity, an added burden to the State and to the noble-hearted men among us who have made such sacrifices in toil and money to raise thousands of immigrants of the Jewish race above the condition in which they arrived from the countries of Eastern Europe, particularly from Russia, where they had endured lifelong cruelties and persecutions.

These new burdens we shall not willingly assume, and they will not be put upon us by Russia or by any other Power without evoking our firm protest. The statesmen of Russia will exhibit far less than their usual enlightenment if they suppose that by mere "authoritative statements" they can in act make their treatment of the Jews a matter of no concern to the rest of the world.

[*Times, New York, June 13, 1903*]

THE CZAR AND HIS MASTERS

No fair-minded person holds the present Czar of Russia directly or even indirectly responsible for the recent barbarous massacre in Bessarabia. The Czar is in name an autocrat. As to the general policies of the empire he is absolute, and his directions in regard to any individual matter brought to his attention are implicitly obeyed. The actual government of Russia, however, is the vast system of bureaucracy over which the Czar reigns, as a *deus ex machina,* but which is administered and controlled by the four great councils, or boards of government—the Council of State, the Ruling Senate, the Holy Synod, and the Committee of Ministers. These councils, along with their subordinate officials of superior rank, and including the hierarchy and the officers of army and navy, form the dominant element in Russia, and their purposes and prejudices may be said to constitute Russian public opinion, so far, at least, as it finds effective expression. The Czars who in the past have seemed most powerful and autocratic have been those who swept along with the mighty current of official precedent and prejudice, and either willingly or reluctantly accepted as their own the dicta of the dominant classes.

It seems almost incredible, for instance, that a woman with the masterful and energetic intellect of Catherine the Great could have written, no doubt sincerely, that "in a great empire the government of which is extended over so many different nations as there are various creeds among men, the most injurious fault would be that of intolerance," and yet have permitted harsh restrictions to be imposed on her Jewish subjects. It is hard, also, at first glance, to understand why the broad-minded Alexander II, did not follow up the emancipation of the serfs with emancipation of the Jews, and why the present Czar, while proclaiming freedom of conscience throughout his dominions, has been withheld from repealing the anti-Semitic decrees which bear so harshly on millions of Russians of the Jewish faith, and which are a standing provocation, in the name of government, to just such scenes as that of Kishineff. The only reasonable explanation is that the Czar feels, as his predecessors felt, that his autocracy is limited in practice, if not in theory, by the attitude of his official servants, who are in a large degree his masters.

It is certain that the position of the present Czar on the Jewish question has been far more tolerant than that of his late father, Alexander III, and that his personal inclinations and influence have favored humane treatment of the Hebrews. It is also certain that, up to the time of the Kishineff tragedy, his reign had not been marked by instances of barbarity such as blotted the rule of his parent and predecessor, which was one long record of reaction and medieval intolerance toward the Jews, Roman Catholics, and Protestants from the day of his accession until his death. The present Czar is of a different temper, but the situation, so far as securing fair treatment for the Jews is concerned, is far more difficult than that which existed before his father's accession, in 1881, when a gradual amelioration of their condition had been going on for over a century. Twenty-two years ago the emancipation of the Jews would have been in accordance with the trend of events; to-day it would be revolution.

The Czar has in all probability taken a personal interest in the Kishineff crime. The dismissal of the governor, whose indifference to the conspiracy to plunder and massacre the Jews was instrumental in bringing about the scenes which have thrilled civilization with horror and with anger, is presumably the personal act of the sovereign, and the energetic measures now being taken to prevent similar tragedies may be attributed to his command. But it is too much to hope or to expect that he will abolish the system of grinding injustice and oppression which dates back in its origin to the Peters and the Ivans, and which makes the Russian Jew a stranger in the land of his ancestors, an alien in regions settled by his progenitors many centuries before the Russian Slav came with fire and sword to efface the ancient civilization of the Greek colonies on the Black Sea.

[*Times, New York, June 27, 1903*]

OUR PROTEST TO RUSSIA

Most Americans, we think, will feel relief at the decision which the President has reached in respect to the petition of the B'nai B'rith concerning the outrages upon the Jews in Russia. While we are showing our abhorrence of a massacre in Servia by withdrawing our Minister to that

Power, or omitting to accredit him to the undoubtedly *de facto* government established by the massacre, we can scarcely refuse to transmit a temperate remonstrance against a far more extensive and less provoked massacre in Russia, when such a protest is made by the co-religionists of the victims. And, indeed, the Russian government itself has just furnished a precedent for such a display of interest in the domestic affairs of another country, not by forwarding a remonstrance of Russian subjects, but by protesting on its own behalf against the crime of regicide, which in Russian official quarters is naturally regarded as much more heinous than mere homicide.

In spite of the reported and undiplomatic expression of Count Cassini's diplomatic surprise that our government should consent to forward a protest which the Russian government cannot consent to receive, it is probable that our government has ascertained the feeling of that of Russia more accurately than that feeling has been unofficially expressed, if it has been, by the Russian ambassador. The letter in which the Secretary of State announces the President's determination seems to intimate as much. Mr. Hay explains that the matter which the President had to consider most seriously is "whether or not such a proceeding would be to the advantage of your persecuted and outraged co-religionists in Russia." But obviously one of the most serious considerations was whether Russia would resent the transmittal of the petition by our government. This was a matter which the President would have "had to consider most seriously," unless he had received assurances from the Russia government which dispensed him from attending to that aspect of the case.

Of course, the doubt stated by Mr. Hay exists and remains. Probably none of the signers of the petition expects very much from it. Certainly none of them expects much who has experience in international affairs. We are so accustomed in this country to think of organized and general public opinion as an irresistible force that we do not readily conceive of a state of things in which there is no organization of public opinion, and in which, as a factor in politics, it cannot be said to exist. The course which Russia has now for years been pursuing in Manchuria shows that she can be entirely comfortable in the face of such a disapprobation of the whole civilized world as would be intolerable to a more modern nation. But at least it is scarcely possible that the presentation of the protest from America can aggravate the condition of the wretched Russian Jews. The petitioners will at least have the satisfaction of freeing their minds and expressing their opinions upon the subject of the Jewish massacre, with an assurance that this expression of opinion will reach the ears for which it is intended.

[*Times, New York, June 28, 1903*]

THE PETITION TO THE CZAR

Different opinions are expressed as to the wisdom of the President's decision to transmit to the Czar of Russia the petition for the better protection of the lives and property of the Jews in that empire.

Whatever may be said of those paragraphs of the petition which recite the facts as to the persecution of the Jews, no exception can be taken in any civilized and liberty-loving country to this passage, the opening reference of which, it may be explained, is to the Czar's part in the organization of the Hague tribunal:

> With such an example before it the civilized world cherishes the hope that upon the same initiative there shall be fixed in the early days of the twentieth century the enduring principle of religious liberty; that by a gracious and convincing expression your Majesty will proclaim, not only for the government of your own subjects, but also for the guidance of all civilized men, that none shall suffer in person, property, liberty, honor, or life because of his religious belief; that the humblest subject or citizen may worship according to the dictates of his own conscience, and that government, whatever its form or agencies, must safeguard these rights and immunities by the exercise of all its powers.

We do not know who wrote that passage of the petition, but whoever did it knew how to express noble sentiments in noble language. It is a striking formulation of the principles of civil and religious liberty. We trust that it will commend itself to the admiration and approval of the Czar.

[*Times, New York, July 1, 1903*]

CAUSE AND EFFECT

The uncle of the Czar, the Grand Duke Vladimir, has communicated his views of the Kishineff massacres and of the persecution of the Jews in Russia to a correspondent of our neighbor The World at Homberg. The Grand Duke Vladimir does not speak, of course, with official authority. What he says is to be accepted only as an expression of the views of a very intelligent Russian. He fairly represents, we presume, Russian public opinion in the aristocratic circle. We quote from The World's report of the interview:

> But first I would like you to explain to me the origin of the prejudice which exists in your country between the white and the black races—a prejudice which I know has existed since the beginning of the American State and is in existence to-day.
>
> Or, similarly, can you account to me for the prejudice existing between the Irish and the English Catholics and Protestants?
>
> It is impossible to do. The causes of racial prejudice are far too remote, too numerous, too complicate.
>
> This is precisely the question with which we are confronted in Russia to-day. It is impossible to give all the causes which have contributed for centuries to produce the racial hatred against the Jews, which has been especially strong since the time of Peter the Great.

The Grand Duke's reasoning is altogether unsound. There is no analogy, or very little, between an undiscriminating attack upon hundreds of Jews in Kishineff and the lynching of a black man here and there in America. In both cases a spirit of lawlessness is exhibited. That is as far as the comparison extends. There may be, there is, in certain States of the American Union a prejudice against the black race. But lynchings are a manifestation, not of a prejudice against a race, but of the desire to execute vengeance upon an individual for a specific offense. The lynchers forestall the law which in due course would punish the offense. Against the individual victims of the Kishineff massacre no offense was alleged. They had been guilty of no act involving a legal penalty. The motive of the attack was plainly race hatred. Its victims were guilty of being Jews—that was their sole offense. The Grand Duke's inquiry into the origin of the prejudice against the blacks in this country is pointless and irrelevant to any discussion of the Kishineff outrages. Equally pointless is his reference to the prejudice between Protestants and Catholics in the United Kingdom. Does he recall in recent history any promiscuous onslaught of the one upon the other?

" It is impossible," says the Grand Duke, " to give all the causes which have contributed for centuries to produce a racial hatred against the Jews." Is it not profitless to undertake an inquiry into causes? The living question before the Russian government at the present time is one, not of cause, but of effect, the effect of race hatred upon lawless Christian subjects of the Czar. The effect of this prejudice is to make them rob, inflict barbarous tortures, and kill. The victims of their rage are not charged with individual offenses against their oppressors or against the laws, as is always the case in Southern lynchings. They are robbed, tortured and killed only because they belong to the Jewish race. Manifestly the Russian government should concern itself not with the causes of this race prejudice, but with measures to restrain its bloody manifestations. The attempt to compare the barbarities of Kishineff with altogether dissimilar acts of lawlessness in other countries is a pretty poor apology. It creates an unpleasant impression as to Russian sentiment in high circles. The Grand Duke expressly disclaims any wish to " condone the apathy of the civil authorities " in Kishineff. But he does not dwell long upon that point. Indeed, the impression to be drawn from his utterances is that instead of condemning the massacre he is seeking rather to explain it in a way to present a colorable justification.

[*Times, New York, July 4, 1903*]

THE CZAR'S POSITION

Objection is made at St. Petersburg to the sending of the petition of American Jews on the ground that the Kishineff massacre is a purely domestic matter as to which we have no right to concern ourselves or to make representations to his Imperial Majesty's government. There is one view of the affair, however, which, if correct, would make the situation in St. Petersburg one of deep national concern to us, and might justify the sending of the petition as a means of obtaining information which we do not now possess.

The story is constantly heard and repeated, and in some parts of the world believed, that the Czar is not kept informed of what is going on in his own empire. We are told that the officials who surround him fail to impart an accurate knowledge of the domestic and foreign affairs of Russia, keep from him things he ought to know, and usurp the prerogative of determining upon acts and policies for which the authority should come only from the highest source.

If this is the true situation at St. Petersburg, if this is the relation of Ministers to the Czar, then it is of the first importance to other powers that the truth be disclosed. If there be any right upon which a sovereign nation may insist, it is the right to deal with the actual government of any other nation with which it has dealings, and to know that its representatives are clothed with lawful authority. A diplomacy of power without responsibility would be full of confusion and danger. If the Ministers of his Imperial Majesty assumed the power to give answers to foreign ambassadors, and to decide questions of international policy, not only without consulting the Czar, but all the while deliberately keeping him in ignorance of the transactions, it would be impossible to maintain satisfactory relations with the Russian empire. We should be clearly within our right in declining to be treated in that way, in refusing to be made the victims of Russian political intrigue, and in taking any measures that might seem to us appropriate for ascertaining the facts.

The Czar is the supreme ruler of his empire, but to this day we do not know to what extent he was informed of the bloody work at Kishineff. We do not even know that the matter of the petition has ever been brought to his attention. Unusual methods and unaccustomed channels have been employed to inform the administration that the petition will not be received. It is a petition to the Czar. From the Czar himself there has come no word. The Foreign Office yesterday issued a statement containing this remarkable sentence: "The Czar alone can decide whether the petition will be received; but Alexander III would never have received such a petition." What are foreign nations to think of that sort of official communication? Manifestly no Russian would dare to submit to the Czar a draft of a Foreign Office statement containing so unflattering an implication as to his imperial purposes.

It is this sort of thing that deepens doubt and increases confusion. The President's resolve to send the petition has made a great stir in the world. If it was his purpose by making a great stir in the world to ascertain whether in our relations with his Imperial Majesty's government we were actually dealing with the Czar and his authorized Ministers, or whether without his knowledge and authority M. Pobodonostieff, Procurator General of the Holy Synod, or M. de Plehve, Minister of the Interior, was upon his own responsibility answering the inquiries of our ambassador and giving unsanctioned instructions to Count Cassini at Washington, then the sending of the document is an act which presents itself to the view of nations in a new light. We hear upon all sides that the situation is delicate. Certainly it is delicate, but the delicacy is not altogether of our creating.

[Times, New York, July 15, 1903]

THE END IN VIEW

It was intimated in our Washington dispatches on Monday that in view of the activity of the Russian government in seeking out for punishment the perpetrators of the outrages upon the Jews of Kishineff the petition to the Czar might not be forwarded by President Roosevelt. The object of the petition is to secure better protection of the lives and property of Jews in Russia. If it shall appear through later reports from St. Petersburg that measures have now been taken to attain that end the petition would seem to have accomplished its purpose already.

It must be borne in mind that this is not a Jewish petition. The signers are representative Americans of every race and creed. It is for them to consider, it is for the committee having the petition in charge and for the administration to consider, whether the actual forwarding f the petition, if there is reason to fear that it would be viewed in the light of an affront by the Russian government, might not tend to increase the hardships and the perils of the Russian Jews. It is for them to consider also whether by consenting to forward a remonstrance so sure to be unwelcome, our government would not measurably diminish its influence at St. Petersburg. Some standing and influence we may be presumed to have there, outside of the formal official relation. We may have occasion to draw upon it in the future in some emergency even more serious than that arising out of the Kishineff massacre. It might be thought unwise to put ourselves in a position where in case of further and bloodier outrages upon the Jews we should not be able to utter our protest with any hope that it would be heard.

These considerations should be kept in view, should be examined and weighed, by the committee in charge of the petition and by the President and his advisers. The end sought, though it is one of humanity, though it concerns matters which deeply touch the heart, is yet to the last degree practical. We want to make the lives of the Jews in Russia more secure, we wish to prevail upon the Russian government to take adequate measures for their protection. If there is reasonable ground for fear that the Russian government would view the sending of the petition in a light so unfavorable to the end sought that it would do more harm than good, it would, of course, be the part of wisdom to retain the document at Washington as a record of American sentiment and opinion. Nobody is in so good a position to judge of these matters as the President and Mr. Hay. Their decision will command universal respect and assent.

[*Times, New York, July 18, 1903*]

NOT IN VAIN

It is not easy to believe that the Kishineff petition will be wholly without influence upon the course of the Russian government, even though that government has declined to receive it. In effect the government at St. Petersburg has received the petition, has pondered it, and without doubt has given much thought to its meaning and intent. The signing and sending of the petition was merely a means of calling the attention of the Russian government to the feeling of horror and indignation with which the American people have heard of the barbarous assaults upon the Jewish subjects of the Czar in Kishineff. There has been noise enough over the matter in the diplomatic world, there has been enough seen about it in print and heard about it in the speech of people a thousand times over to put the Russian government on notice that the civilized world views with amazement and pain its failure to prevent within the dominions of the Czar the murder of men and women for reasons of faith and religion. The delivery and reception of the petition would have been after all but an empty ceremony. The real mission of the document was long ago performed.

It is impossible that, through resentment at the proposed sending of the petition, the Russian government should encourage or permit fresh outrages upon the Jews. There are limits beyond which not even a great and powerful empire would deem it prudent to go in defying the humane sentiment of civilized nations. Already steps have been taken for the punishment of the guilty rioters in Kishineff, and of late reports have come of new and more determined efforts to hunt down the criminals. It is open to us to assume that the incident of the petition has not been without weight in leading the officials at St. Petersburg to the conclusion that the unpunished wholesale murdering of Jews cannot be permitted.

[*Tribune, New York, May 18, 1903*]

RUSSIA'S INDICTMENT

The Kishineff massacre appears to have rivaled in horror the worst of which we have record, in ancient or modern times, in civilized or savage lands. Divested of all sensationalism and lurid epithets, the plain tale fully equals in every element of tragedy, of wanton cruelty, of obscene and unmentionable outrage, anything we have ever heard of the doings of Boxers, of Sioux or Apaches, of the Khalifa at Omdurman, or of a Texas or Louisiana lynching bee. Indeed, it is in a sense worse than these, because while it equals any of them in atrocity it surpasses most of them in wantonness. The Boxers were destroying "foreign devils" who they believed had invaded their country to do it harm. The Sioux and Apaches were fighting their hereditary foes, and were avenging innumerable wrongs against their own race. The lynchings were at least ostensibly to punish abominable crimes and to deter others from them. But these Kishineff iniquities had no such motive. The victims had done no wrong, and were offering no menace to the community. The thing was absolutely wanton, with the wantonness of ignorance, superstition and brutalized barbarism.

That, however, is not the full indictment against Russia. If it were, we might hesitate to utter it, mindful of the injunction to cast no stone at a sinner unless we are ourselves without sin; and America is not without such sin, even wanton sin. We remember the hideous massacre of Chinamen at Rock Springs, for no other fault than that they were sober and industrious. We remember the clubbings and stabbings and hangings and burning of negroes in the streets of New York, for no other fault than that God had made them with black skins. We remember the cruel murdering of men in various places, for no other fault than that they sought to work for a living without first paying tribute to some arbitrary organization. We remember more than one lynching in which the victim was innocent and was known to be innocent, the savage demand being that if the guilty man could not be found, some man, no matter who, should be sacrificed in his place. All these things are in mind, to restrain us from too censoriously arraigning Russia for the infamies of Kishineff. America, too, has sinned. It has sinned in the same apparent way, and does so sin in a degree whenever New York ruffians insult a Jewish funeral or persecute some helpless, harmless Jew.

But there is, after all, one radical difference, in which is suggested the gravest count of Russia's indictment. That is that while such doings here are contrary to law, to the spirit of our institutions, and to the sentiment of the great masses of our people, in Russia they are actually encouraged by the government and by those who should be the leaders of popular opinion. That is the damning fact. For years the Russian government has legislated against the Jews. It has not, of course, ordered or authorized or suggested the butchery of them. But it has administratively oppressed them. It has denied them the common rights enjoyed by all other subjects. It has set upon them the stamp of practical outlawry, of pariahship. It has designated them as an unwelcome element in the empire, to be in any case suppressed and, if possible, eliminated. The effect of such a governmental policy upon the average moujik, and upon the mob of a Russian city, is obvious. It encourages, it even arouses, the savage passions which the uncivilized Russian possesses in common with the Chinaman, the Kurd and the Apache; and it does so no less surely because it has no intention of doing so; and when the mob arises and sees the men and women of wealth and culture and social rank smiling at and applauding its deeds, as they did at Kishineff, there is no wonder that it goes on to the most awful excesses.

The Kishineff massacre, men truly say, is an anachronism in the twentieth century. No less an anachronism is the policy of the Holy Synod, which decrees, in the name of the Czar, an unrelenting discrimination against Jew and Stundist and Lutheran and all who do not accept the "Orthodox" faith. It is because the Jews are proscribed by the Imperial government at St. Petersburg and at "Holy Moscow" that the mob of Kishineff feels free to butcher them, thinking that in doing so it pleases the "Little Father" and fulfils his will. Such thought is a monstrous libel upon the Czar. But there is only one way in which to correct it. That is for the Imperial government to repeal its anti-Jewish decrees and make it known from Caspian to Neva that Jew and Greek have equal rights and will unfailingly have the equal protection of the law.

[*Tribune, New York, May 26, 1903*]

A RUSSIAN ON RUSSIA

Russia's most scathing and most truthful critic is one of the most representative of Russians. We printed the other day Maxim Gorki's comments upon the crime of Kishineff, which the censor would not permit to be published in Russia. The gifted young scullery boy and novelist of Nijni Novgorod, who is to an exceptional degree in touch with and informed concerning the inner life of Russia, draws an appalling picture of the crime:

> People who regard themselves as Christians, who claim to believe in God's mercy and sympathy, these people on the day consecrated to the resurrection of their God from the dead occupy the time in murdering children and aged people, ravishing the women and martyring the men of the race which gave them Christ.

Then, with something like the remorselessness of Nemesis, he fixes the responsibility for it, not upon the mob, the mujiks, the former serfs, but upon cultivated society, upon "men of light and leading," upon the rulers of the land. That, as we have contended from the first, is the deadliest indictment of Russia, and it suggests the chief need of that country, if ever it is to be redeemed from the reproach of barbarism.

It is not sufficient to take half measures, such as the dismissal of the governor and chief of police of Kishineff, though these are good in their way. We assume, of course, that these dismissals have been made in good faith for the punishment of the delinquent officials, and not merely for effect upon the world at large. In thus acting, the Czar—for the dismissals are credited to him personally—shows his appreciation of the enormity of the crime that has been committed and of the culpability of the officials. His conduct is in grateful contrast to that of those who are protesting that there is no occasion to make such a fuss over the incident, and that Russia's traditional friendship for America ought to restrain us from making unpleasant comments upon the tricks and manners of her Jew-baiters. We have never been unmindful of, and trust we have never even appeared ungrateful for, the friendship which Russia has at times shown toward this country. But all the gratitude in the world can never palliate such a crime as that at Kishineff nor check condemnation of it. "Love me, love my dog," is an old saying. We are not yet prepared to accept it in the form of "Love me, love my sins."

It would be still more gratifying to hear something from the Russian government about the order which is reported, on apparently good authority, to have been sent by the Russian Minister of the Interior to the Governor of Bessarabia practically forbidding interference with the massacres. If the report of it is true that order was one of the wickedest ever issued by any government in the world, and it must frankly be said that what the world has learned of M. de Plehve in other matters does not make his sending of such an order seem altogether impossible. If he did send it, he, rather than the governor or chief of police of Kishineff, is responsible for the massacres, and he as well as they, and even more than they, should be punished. If he did not send it, and if no such order was issued, that fact should be made known, in justice to him and to the Russian government, to free them from a hideous imputation. Either authoritative denial of the report or punishment of the author of the order certainly seems to be required.

What is needed in Russia is something more than a local palliative or remedy. It is rather a general reformation of the Russian attitude toward the Jews. We might almost say that such reform should begin with the Czar himself. Nicholas II is an enlightened and humane monarch, and it is not for a moment to be supposed that he approves any persecution of the Jews in his empire. Yet it is significant that when his recent decree of religious freedom and other reforms was made, which was hailed at the time as opening a new era for Russia, it was all but universally taken for granted that it would not apply to the Jews, but that they would still remain under the ban. His imperial majesty must have been aware of that interpretation of his decree, but he did not contradict it. He must now be aware that Russian Jew-baiters are stirring up the mob with the infamous suggestion that it is the Czar's will that the Jews shall be robbed and slain. What is needed, then, is that the Czar's stern disapproval of all such persecution shall be made known in the plainest manner and to the widest extent, and that it shall similarly be made known that Jews are henceforth to have equal rights and equal protection with all other subjects. It is needed that the laws discriminating against the Jews shall be repealed, for as long as they exist they are a sign of imperial disfavor toward the Jews, and thus an incentive to the mob to rise against those people. Such iniquities as that at Kishineff will cease only when the Russian people are educated up to complete religious toleration and to a recognition of the fact that a Jew is as good as a Gentile; and in such education it is essential that the government shall take the lead.

[*Tribune, New York, June 26, 1903*]

THE KISHINEFF PETITION

The Independent Order B'nai B'rith, the powerful Jewish organization which did much toward the relief of the Jews in Roumania, deserves credit for its well-planned and dignified action in the Kishineff matter. A petition from them or from any other body to the Czar in behalf of the Jews in Russia would probably receive slight attention, but coming to the Russian government through the President of the United States, as the members of the order now know that their petition will, it cannot be cast aside without consideration, and it may be fruitful of remedial results.

The present administration showed its willingness to aid the persecuted Jews of Roumania, and its action in the present instance is further proof of a desire on the part of the President to do his share toward securing for the people of other lands the blessings of religious liberty, of which Americans know the full value.

[*Tribune, New York, June 27, 1903*]

THE PETITION TO THE CZAR

The President's promised forwarding of the Jewish petition to the Czar should result in good. If not, it assuredly should not result in evil. So much may unhesitatingly be said about it. It is to be assumed that the Czar does not approve the persecution of the Jews. Assurances are frequent and earnest that he regards the United States with cordial friendship. If, then, the President of Russia's "traditional friend" deems this petition to be worthy of his attention, and worthy to be forwarded through the diplomatic agencies of this country, it is difficult to see how the Czar can fail to look upon it as also worthy of his consideration; and our knowledge of his lofty and humane principles forbids us to doubt that if he does receive and consider the petition he will be moved to effective action toward remedying the evils of which complaint is made.

It does not seem that reception of the petition by the

Czar would violate the principle recently laid down by his government—namely, that it will not be possible for Russia *to receive any representations regarding the* Kishineff incident from any foreign power, and that Russia must insist upon other powers refraining from interfering in her internal affairs. The President's action will not be interference in Russian affairs. It will not even remotely hint at such a thing. It will not be "a representation from a foreign power." The petition is not a government document. The United States is not protesting against persecution of the Jews nor making petition for religious equality. All the President is doing is to recognize the fact that citizens of the United States cannot enter into direct correspondence with the sovereign of a foreign State, but can communicate with him only through the diplomatic department of the American government, and to place the agencies of this government at their command.

These considerations indicate how void of offense to Russia the President's action will be. They also invite expectation of conduct on Russia's part that will be equally void of offense to the United States. The President frankly tells the B'nai B'rith that he can give no assurance concerning the reception of the petition by the Russian government. No. But it is to be assumed that a respectful and courteous communication, forwarded and presented in a respectful and courteous way, will receive respectful and courteous treatment. It may be or may not be received by the Czar. It may be or may not be acted upon by him. But it would be strange indeed if the presentation of it were made a matter of offense between two friendly countries, or if the attitude of the Czar or his government toward it were such as to impair in any degree the cordial relations existing between Russia and the United States. Such relations would be fragile indeed if they could not endure such an incident as this.

We are aware, in a painful and humiliating degree, that recent occurrences in one of our own States have tended to impair the moral force of an American protest against savagery; so that we should not be able to resent with any grace a retort of "Tu quoque" or a suggestion that the physician should heal himself. But at least it is to be observed that neither the American ambassador to Russia nor the Secretary of Legation who acts as Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburg hails from the State of Delaware, and that B'nai B'rith is not known to exert any especial influence in the neighborhood either of Price's Corners or of Wilmington.

[*World's Work, New York, July, 1903*]

THE MASSACRE OF JEWS IN RUSSIA

One good measure of the civilization of any country is its treatment of the Jews. By this measure the barbaric spirit of the Russians—especially of the southwest Russians—has been made plain; for the deliberate massacre and mutilation of a hundred Jewish men, women and children (more or less) at Kishineff have shocked all civilization. Many more have been made homeless.

The matter is made worse by the indifference, perhaps the open connivance, of local Russian officials. Authentic reports make it clear that these officials knew of the murder and mutilation of these innocent persons without interfering. The immediate "provocation" of the deed was the report that a Christian had been slain by the Jews for sacrificial purposes. It was the religious zeal of the people that the Jew-baiters played upon.

But the real reason is that combination of race hatred and religious hatred and economic hatred that causes the persecution of the Jews, in Russia, especially, all the while. A murderous outbreak like this is only a natural climax and a logical result of the continuous prejudice and persecution.

At the moment when the cruel taking of human life forbids every emotion but pity and makes practical relief the first duty of humane persons, the immediate provocation given by the Jews is forgotten—properly forgotten, perhaps. But a murderous outbreak in which the officials of a town, and to some extent the non-Jewish population, acquiesced, is not without some provocation—at least as the non-Jewish population regards it. The real causes lie far back. The Jews are forbidden to own land and to enter the professions; all desirable privileges and opportunities are denied to them; and they are left to make their living by their native thrift as tradesmen and money lenders. Overtaxed, restricted, oppressed, they are driven to hard dealing. The character and the habits of any people would be made hard by continual oppression. A suppressed Jew becomes troublesome and oppressive himself.

These provocations and counter-provocations go on in communities that are on a low level of civilization, among a people who are exceedingly superstitious, under a government that is openly venal and under social conditions in which class feeling and race feeling are strong. There can be no radical remedy until the whole tone of Russian civilization is changed. The more oppressive Russian life becomes the worse the Jew becomes, and even murderous outbreaks are really not to be wondered at.

The practical results of this shocking occurrence have so far been a shudder of horror in all civilized lands, and the quick expression of sympathy by the sending of money to the stricken families of Kishineff. But of greater consequence than these creditable acts of individuals and associations is the deepened conviction of the world that Russia is yet far from civilization as the western world measures civilization. The event must have an effect on the attitude of all governments to the Czar's bureaucracy. There is a treacherous savagery beneath the surface of Russian character.

Another result of this massacre may be an even greater influx of Russian Jews to the United States. We are having our full share—more than a fair share—of these unfortunate people; for, liberal as our laws are, and sincere as our welcome is for the oppressed, there is an economic limit to the number that can come without too severe a burden. The Ghettos of our large cities present problems that are grave, if not the gravest.

But the United States is fast becoming the home of the race. The time will come when most of them will dwell here—that much seems certain; for our liberal institutions make our country their real Zion.

Even here, as in every other land, they are more or less apart, not politically (for they become ardent Americans), but socially and religiously. They are either excluded or they are exclusive. By their religion, even when it becomes very liberal, and by their preference for marriage only within their own race, they keep their identity even in our conglomerate population. By this race identity almost every Jew is, in the minds of Christians, classified with every other Jew, and their compactness continues. As a rule, they are shrewder, too, more thrifty, more capable of achieving personal practical success than the American population about them; and this quality sometimes excites envy.

One of the most interesting questions of the future, both of the United States and of the Jews, is—will our democracy be able at last to assimilate them? Will they ever be merged in our composite race? Thus does a bloody crime in a remote Russian town affect democratic institutions in every American city, so closely is the world now bound together.

[*World's Work, New York, August, 1903*]

The massacre of the Jews at Kishineff seems likely to have long diplomatic consequences indirectly if not directly. The English Foreign Office declined to present to the Russian government a protest signed by influential Jews of the British empire because the trouble at Kishineff was a domestic matter and did not directly nor technically involve international relations.

Neither can our government interfere nor try to interfere with a domestic trouble or problem in Russia; but it can transmit to the Czar's government a petition signed by prominent American citizens. The Czar may decline to receive it. But there are precedents for sending such petitions and remonstrances. No direct result is expected to follow the sending of the petition for the better treatment of the Jews; but the indirect results may reach far. And it is the possible indirect results that are more important.

Russia has not kept faith with the great powers in the agreement made concerning the open door in China. By the continued occupation of Manchuria, and the discrimination made against the trade of other nations there, Russia has broken her promises. Now the general discussion of the relations of the United States and Russia (which are technically friendly), provoked by the Kishineff incident, promises to become the occasion for a thorough going over of Russian diplomatic methods.

Nor is this all. Russian bad faith in Manchuria affects all the other great powers as directly as it affects the United States. But the other powers have not taken her to task. If an explanation is demanded by us of her conduct in Manchuria, every other power will be as directly concerned as ourselves. She cannot make an explanation to the United States that will not at the same time be an explanation also to England and to Germany and to the rest. The whole matter may lead even further yet. For Japan is eager for war with Russia. If Russia be called to account by us (for ourselves and for all the other allies in the expedition to Peking), the result may have a bearing on the relations of Russia and Japan.

Thus do our unhampered position and our frank methods of diplomacy keep us in a position possibly to serve all the great powers as no other government may do. And American influence in the world counts for more and more, and American diplomacy continues to serve the best interests of the whole world.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

[*Virginian-Pilot, Norfolk, Va., May 26, 1903*]

NORFOLK'S SYMPATHY WITH THE PERSECUTED JEWS

The great outpouring of Norfolk's citizens on Sunday afternoon to express their sympathy with the poor, harmless Jews that have recently suffered terribly from persecution at the hands of Russian soldiery, which was attended by many leading Christians of the city, and addressed, among others, by two of Norfolk's most distinguished and best beloved Christian ministers, speaks loudly for the humanitarian instincts and the broad training of the people of this city. No race known to history has suffered the persecutions that the Jews have suffered, but there is no more sign to-day of their yielding up their convictions than there was twelve or fifteen centuries ago.

The time seems to have gone by when so-called Christian nations will permit to pass without a protest such barbarities as have recently been perpetrated in Russia. That a protest will go up from this country, there can no longer remain any doubt. If the Secretary of State does not protest, the press of this country will, and Russia seems peculiarly sensitive to criticism on the part of the American newspapers. That country is playing a shrewd game just now in China, and the country that has most at stake in this game except China is the United States, and especially the cotton producing part of the United States, which has an immensely increasing market in China for cotton goods. This country had about been soothed into silence and acquiescence when the Easter massacre of the Jews in Russia became known to the civilized world. Let the people become excited over this massacre of innnocent people, and they will again begin to question Russia's course and attitude in Manchuria. Can the Russians afford to be indifferent to the cries that are going out from this country for justice to the Jews?

We hardly think so, and we look for more apologies from the Russian Ambassador, and we expect to see these apologies couched in more conciliatory terms than his last apology, in which he defended his country by attempting without success to cast odium on the Jews.

OMAHA, NEBRASKA

[*Bee, Omaha, Neb., May 31, 1903*]

A STRONG PROTEST

Nothing that has been publicly said in the way of protest against the brutal massacre of the Jewish people at Kishineff is more forceful, or will have greater influence, than the address of ex-President Cleveland at the mass meeting in New York City a few nights ago. The very calmness and conservatism of Mr. Cleveland's remonstrance give it a peculiar force and strength. It was the declaration of a man conspicuous among his countrymen who manifestly felt most earnestly and deeply the great outrage which he condemned and who would not hesitate, had he the authority, to exert whatever influence he properly could to avert the recurrence of so terrible a horror as that which has shocked the civilized world.

While unreservedly denouncing the persecution of the Jewish people in Russia, Mr. Cleveland pointed out that it is a matter as to which our government cannot properly take any extreme action. Public expressions of indignation those in authority should give attention to, but they are not called upon to make these a subject of governmental protest against an internal wrong under a foreign government which does not directly affect us. Popular protest Mr. Cleveland approves of, but it is not the duty of the national authorities to act. "Let the people of the United States," said the ex-President, "fearlessly speak to the civilized world, protesting against every pretense of civilization that permits medieval persecution, against every bigoted creed that forbids religious toleration and freedom of conscience," but it is not for the government to join in such protest. It is not to be doubted that all who can consider the matter without prejudice will concur with Mr. Cleveland, remembering that in this free and enlightened land there have been most grievous sins against humanity and civilization.

[*Bee, Omaha, Neb., June 27, 1903*]

THE PETITION TO THE CZAR

The decision of President Roosevelt to transmit to the Russian Government the petition of the Jewish organization relating to the Jews in Russia will be approved by American public opinion. As pointed out by Secretary Hay, the President cannot tell what reception the petition will meet with. It is not at all probable that it will ever be seen by the Czar and it is quite possible that the Russian officials will refuse to receive it. This, it is to be inferred from the dispatches, is rather expected at Washington. But in any event the President will have performed a duty in behalf of a numerous body of American citizens who ought to be heard in the interest of millions of their people in Russia.

What effect the sending of the petition will have upon Russian feeling toward the United States is uncertain. It appears to be apprehended that there will be some resentment, and this is by no means unlikely. Of course this has been carefully considered at Washington. There is, however, no really good reason why Russia should take offense at this action. It involves no interference on the part of our Government with the internal affairs of that empire. It is simply an effort to enable American citizens, concerned in the welfare of their kindred people, to make a proper protest against the persecution of those people where such protest may be effective. Our Government will assume no responsibility in connection with the petition. It will merely ask that it be received, and if the Russian Government refuses that will end the matter. There is certainly no good reason why this should impair the friendly relations between Russia and the United States.

[*World-Herald, Omaha, Neb., May 18, 1903*]

THE RUSSIAN MASSACRES

Civilization has been shocked by the reports of the massacre of unfortunate Israelites in Russia. Nicholas is a man of peace and is said to believe in religious toleration, but his officials are either brutes or fanatics. A decided stand on the part of the Czar and a few trials and capital punishments of the wretches who degrade manhood by making the Israelites miserable will cool their murderous temperaments and bring them to realize that governments are instituted for the blessing and not the misery of mankind. Much as the French Revolution and Napoleon are disliked by many, it is to their everlasting credit that the Jew found in them his protector and made him equal in civil rights and privileges to the rest of the French people.

To read the account of these Russian horrors one would think that empire was ruled by Haman and his satraps, rather than by a Christian emperor and men under him professing to believe the tenets of the tender, meek and lowly Jesus. The orgies of the savages of North America are mild in presence of the acts of men who claim to have white skins and to belong to the superior race. The Russian Government is excusing itself for these brutalities by claiming they were instigated by some secret society—some Russian Mafia—and not by the agents of the Government itself.

The latest reports state that thirty-seven Israelites were killed outright and about 200 wounded in Kishineff. The bodies of the slain were left where they fell in the streets, weltering in blood, while horrible atrocities were committed among the women and children.

One of the rabbis says these murders took place on the Russian Easter Sunday—April 19. They raged for three days and did not abate in fury till there remained only mutilated corpses to kill, dismantled dwellings to pillage and smouldering ruins to set on fire. The Jewish communities were inoffensive and quiet and their only offense was their adherence to the faith of their fathers. They were turned over to a pandemonium of crime and brutality. Men abandoned their property to save their lives, and women abandoned their lives to save their honor. They saved neither. Amid the curling smoke, the leaping flames, the groans of the dying and the shrieks of those seeking death—amid all these unearthly sounds there rose and fell and swayed and swelled, like the angry murmur of the storm-swept sea, the savage yelp of the marauders, the triumphant shout of the rabble, whose passions enkindled, their lust aroused and all restraint removed, seemed to vie with the demons in making the earth a hell.

The Governor did nothing in these three days to put down the riot. The victims cried to him piteously for protection. They received a sneer with the remark, "Help yourselves."

What a pity there was no Mordecai at the Russian court to protect his people! But Ahasuerus was a pagan, and Nicholas professes to be a Christian.

Nicholas should have a care.

[*World-Herald, Omaha, Neb., May 24, 1903*]

THE RUSSIAN PERSECUTION

Attention is called to a remarkable chain of circumstances in the Christian world to-day by one of the prominent Jewish organs in this country. This periodical points to the horrors of persecution practiced by the Russians upon the helpless Hebrews in their dominion and then relates the fact that the Chinamen in New York City brought about a benefit for these poor people in the cruel empire. The Russians are Christians, the Chinamen are supposed to be heathen, and the Hebrews are pursued with nagging and punishments and revolting massacre, because of their religious faith. Nothing is more humiliating to the civilized world to-day than this spectacle in Russia, and to add to our humiliation the "Heathen Chinee" becomes the benefactor of the oppressed race. No rebuke from the Christian world at large, or Christian nations in particular, to this despotism of Russia can be too severe, for the whole Christian world is lowered and saddened by the horrors in the dark empire.

These Hebrew publications also justly seek for the cause of all this barbarous movement in the conduct of the Russian administration itself. The terrible lessons of Siberia, oft repeated and impressed, have had their effect. It is true, and the world knows it to be true, that in history, not so very remote either, the Russian despot exiled its brightest and best men to the rigorous regions of death in the North simply because they knew too much, because the light of education and research had made plain the disgraceful state of affairs in their country.

With all its commercial progress and enterprise, its avarice in the Orient and its scheming for the deglutition of China, the Government's splendid business ability and all the arts of diplomacy cannot conceal from the world the canker eating at the heart of the empire. There is a feeling among the people of the United States who have been watching this strangely successful country that a long delayed rebuke will, ere long, come which will result in revolution, disaster and downfall of the most aggressive power of the world to-day.

Even though the administration may not be held responsible for the horrors of the past month, yet its theory of government in times past has only been imitated in the cruel oppression of the Russian Jew by the herd of subjects who have learned their lesson from designing despots at St. Petersburg.

PEORIA, ILLINOIS

[*Evening Star, Peoria, Ill., June 3, 1903*]

THE RUSSIAN JEW

It is now said that the massacre of the Russian Jews can be laid at the door of the Russian Minister of Interior. There is a good deal of ill-feeling in Russia against the government, and the Minister of Interior conceived the idea that a proper outlet for this feeling could be obtained by stirring up the passions of the people against the Jews and charging that all the oppression that they felt could be laid at the door of the unfortunate Hebrews. Hence the attack. The Minister was aided in this work by the editor of a Russian newspaper, whose expenses were paid out of the public treasury. It is said that the Minister will be forced to retire, for Russia cannot face the world and excuse these outrages.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

[*Evening Telegraph, Philadelphia, Pa., June 4, 1903*]

THE KISHINEFF CAUSE

At the mass meeting held at the Academy of Music last evening to take action respecting the massacre of Jews at Kishineff, resolutions were adopted calling upon the people of the United States to "exercise such influence with the government of Russia as may be practicable to stay the spirit of persecution, to redress injustice inflicted upon the Jews at Kishineff, and to prevent the recurrence of outbreaks such as have amazed the civilized world." The other passages included in the resolutions are of more particular interest, but of less public concern. It will be observed that, in the words quoted, there is no direct charge of responsibility for the Kishineff crimes formulated against the Russian government. It is only by implication that the government is involved in the matter, the petition that such outrages shall hereafter be prevented warranting the inference that the Kishineff crimes might have been prevented, had the government taken proper action in the premises.

The speakers at this meeting were not so reserved in the expression of their opinions. Judge Sulzberger, Rabbi Krauskopf and others distinctly declared the Czar and his Ministers to be directly accountable for the attack upon the Kishineff Jews. "It is the sin of the Russian government and the fanaticism of the Russian Church that incited the mob," is one of the explicit declarations made. "We meet here to-night to summon Russia before the bar of civilization" is the declaration of another speaker. Whether this summons shall be answered or not, and whether the Russian government can be brought under indictment in this case or not, the appeal made at the meeting last evening for funds to help the widows and orphans, deprived of their natural protectors and robbed of all their possessions, should meet with an immediate and generous response. It unfortunately happens that our people are called upon to contribute heavily for aid to the sufferers by floods in our own Western States, but every good cause should appeal to our sympathies, and in this Kishineff relief movement the reputation of Philadelphia for open-handed charity should not be allowed to deteriorate.

[*Inquirer, Philadelphia, Pa., June 5, 1903*]

PHILADELPHIA'S PROTEST

Philadelphia made its protest last night in the great meeting at the Academy of Music against the atrocities of which the long-persecuted Jews have been the victims in Kishineff. Civilization is appalled at these medieval horrors in the morning of the twentieth century. It is apparently powerless to prevent them. It can at least manifest its horror and express its condemnation in the strongest terms that human speech commands.

The extreme of prejudice and bigotry which prompts these persecutions is difficult for us to understand at this distance. Here Jew and Gentile, representatives of every religion and men of no religion have but one opinion on the state of mind and character of people who unite to persecute and slay their neighbors because they are of a different creed and of a different race.

They regard the deed with execration and abhorrence, and with one mind and heart wish to put the seal of their condemnation upon it. This Philadelphia did in its own earnest way at its great public meeting last night.

[*North American, Philadelphia, Pa., June 5, 1903*]

BURNING WORDS

Few occasions of the character of the mass meeting of protest against the Jewish massacres have yielded oratory so stirring and impressive. Because of the importance of the subject and the prominence of the speakers, we feel that some of the more notable expressions should be repeated in concise form, for preservation and emphasis.

Judge Gordon's keynote was that the acts of a professedly Christian population, led by priests of the Greek Church, had shamed Christianity. He portrayed the essential ugliness of religious hatred, and showed that its particular manifestation was merely an accident of environment—a resort to force in a barbaric country, to more subtle means where force is not tolerated. In a strong climax he said that such deeds "crucify afresh the gentle Jew of Nazareth."

The Rev. Russell H. Conwell, while emphasizing the thought that outbreaks of this character are not the work of Christians and can only be apologized for by a "sham Christianity," added that the apology as framed by Cassini made the case even worse. Duke Alva on his deathbed said he did not need to forgive his enemies—"he had killed them all." The Russian ambassador would intimate that the Russians pay their debts in a like manner, by assassinating their creditors. "The Czar is responsible," said Dr. Conwell; explaining that by the Czar he did not mean Nicholas II the individual, but the head of the Russian government, which treated the Jews with exceptional severity, deprived them of human rights, encouraged denunciation of them, and suppressed the newspapers and banished the writers that defended them.

Judge Ashman went still further. Civilization, he said, does not consist in wealth, commerce, architecture, fleets or armies, but in right living. Judged by that standard, Russia is not civilized. She should be told that she must amend her laws not only to prevent all danger of the recurrence of massacres, but to lift from the Jews the daily pressure of starvation by legal restriction, or become an outcast among the nations, her embassies unwelcome at all capitals and no ambassador sent to her court.

Judge Mayer Sulzberger rose to the heights of impassioned oratory, and his denunciation of Count Cassini was a climax of invective. He said:

> And now comes the unspeakable Cassini, who, insolently disregarding the government to which he has been accredited, directly addresses the people of the United States by means of the public press, and even dares to threaten evil results if we speak our minds. When an ambassador thus waives his official privilege he ought to learn that his presence in this country is considered an offense by many millions of brave men and pure women constituting our American citizenry; that for lust, rapine and murder we have here no apologists and no room for apologists, and that even a Russian grandee may receive a passport that requires him to leave a friendly country instead of sojourning in it.

In reference to Ambassador McCormick he was hardly less severe, declaring that official was a "brainless, heartless babbler," and no fit representative of the United States.

It is not often that a great question receives such adequate treatment, or that guilt is driven home with such splendid force.

[Press, Philadelphia, Pa., May 20, 1903]

RUSSIA AND THE JEWS

The Czar has removed the governor of the province in which occurred the appalling horrors of Kishineff. This puts his stamp of condemnation on the massacre, on the perpetrators and on all who had any share of responsibility in its origin or its toleration, and, so far as it goes, it is in the right direction.

But the crime was so sweeping, so ruthless and so atrocious that the government can only exculpate itself by rigorous investigation and the condign punishment of all who are responsibly implicated. Unhappily such measures, however drastic, cannot restore the murdered lives or repair the awful misery; but they can rectify the attitude of the government and can admonish against a repetition of the crime.

Civilization can express its abhorrence and its protest, but how far can any other government make specific representations on the subject? That point involves delicate questions which are not to be lightly measured or inconsiderately answered. It has been said, on the one hand, that the government of the United States could not remonstrate because this would be an unwarranted intrusion in the domestic affairs of another nation. It has been urged, on the other hand, that our government ought to speak instantly and emphatically. Neither position may be altogether correct. In this connection it may be of interest to recall a representation which was made to the Russian government in 1891 under conditions not altogether dissimilar. While there had been no such massacre as that of Kishineff, there was a renewed and rigorous enforcement of obsolete and proscriptive edicts, the result of which was such an emigration of Russian Jews to America as that which is now on foot.

Under these circumstances the American Minister at St. Petersburg held such communication with the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs as seemed fit. His dispatch to Secretary Blaine sets forth just what took place, and is reproduced in another column. Whatever interest it may have is due to the fact that it was a diplomatic representation to the Russian government respecting measures within the Russian empire which conduced to excessive emigration to the United States. It was held that this emigration imposed burdens and produced conditions which directly affected the interests of our country, and that on this ground we were justified in asking for the abandonment or the mitigation of measures which led to such results. Naturally the subject had to be approached with discretion and within the diplomatic proprieties, but there was a distinct representation in such form as caused its acceptance.

Ambassador White afterward wrote strongly on the question. Secretary Hay's forcible dispatch respecting the oppression of the Roumanian Jews was based on the same ground of the direct interest which this country had through the effect of the oppression on the influx of people unprepared for our requirements. It has been said that there is a distinction between the Roumanian case and the Russian case because in the former the American note was addressed to the signatories of the Berlin Treaty who were under pledges as to Roumania, while in the case of Russia it would be a direct intrusion into the domestic affairs of the empire. But this distinction rests more on form than on substance. The fundamental basis of action is the same in both cases. A single act, appalling as it may be, is unlike a settled policy. Much depends on the attitude of the Russian government; but it is to be hoped that it will respond to the voice of civilization, and in any event the country may trust the ripe knowledge and sound judgment of Secretary Hay for the right thing.

[*Press, Philadelphia, Pa., July 5, 1903*]

THE B'NAI B'RITH PETITION

The Russian Foreign Office and the State Department are both following their traditional policy in the B'nai B'rith petition. Neither calls for heat nor fateful prediction.

By diplomatic theory, nations live in watertight compartments and neither says ought of the internal affairs of the other. By diplomatic practice, each keeps a close watch on the internal workings of the other. Where these affect another nation it always has the privilege of protesting, as the United States repeatedly has, about the treatment of the Jews in Russia.

Between this theory of a compartmented diplomacy and this diplomatic watchfulness there is a wide neutral zone in which nations and those who represent them use their discretion. The B'nai B'rith petition can be presented and can be rejected without injury to the dignity of either nation—provided it is done in the right way. Diplomatic communications on a delicate issue served out hot to the newspapers are distinctly not the right way, and the Foreign Office at St. Petersburg has clearly wandered at this point. It is not from official or unofficial utterances in newspapers that nations learn of each other's corporate intentions or should learn them.

When any general condemnation takes concrete shape in the utterance of those qualified to speak nations have a right to communicate it to each other where their own interests are themselves affected. Our own are, by the forced increase of Jewish immigration and the forced expulsion of our Jewish fellow-citizens from Russia. This converts an abstract international sentiment into a concrete national grievance. It transmits an intangible public opinion into a definite public interest.

There is an international right of petition. It is not clearly defined. It cannot be given metes and bounds. It varies from country to country and it grows from decade to decade. But an international right of petition exists. Nations do not stand alone. Each is affected by the other. Each, for its own good and its own behoof, must know great waves and tides of feeling in other lands. Governments have the right to make these known through the proper channels of diplomacy. Where material interests are involved it is their duty so to do.

President Roosevelt proposes to discharge this duty with the B'nai B'rith petition. It may be "rejected." If the proper, "correct" course is taken in presenting the petition no harm is done and no bones broken. Nor in the High Court of Humanity can diplomatic "rejection" really "reject" a protest which speaks for justice, for law and for the equal protection of all. These things outlast emperors and empires. No chancellerie can exclude them. No diplomatic agent can silence them. Their voice is gone through all the world and their utterances really "reject" a protest which speaks to the uttermost parts of the earth.

When President Roosevelt by presenting the B'nai B'rith petition has spoken for these things he has done his duty as an American President. The fruit and result can be left to those greater forces which redress the diplomacy of the day by the justice of all time.

[*Public Ledger and Philadelphia Times, May 12, 1903*]

THE MASSACRE OF RUSSIAN JEWS

It has of late not infrequently fallen to the United States government to lead the protest in the name of humanity against inhuman persecutions. It is with reason that the mass meetings of Jewish citizens in New York and Philadelphia have declared that the outrages of which many hundreds of their race have been made the victims of Bessarabia call for remonstrance from the powers. Not for many years has race hatred anywhere been permitted to rage so murderously. For three days it went on, glutting itself with bloodshed, torture and nameless barbarities, unchecked by the officials. In the city of Kishineff some hundreds are dead, and many thousands homeless and destitute. The story of the massacre is appalling. Its proportions and the indisposition or the inability of the officers to protect the unoffending victims assuredly merit the attention of the world.

The first fruits of the much lauded ukase in which the Czar proclaimed religious freedom for his subjects are the torture and murder of Jews. With what sort of face can Russia pretend concern for the Christian subjects of the Sultan? Truth to confess, the Macedonians are a troublesome lot; the Bulgarian committee makes it its business to provoke retaliatory outrages, with a view to arousing the world's sympathy. The Jews in the Czar's dominions are the most inoffensive of men, they are charged with no offense; their faith is their crime. Abdul Hamid himself, if he has no actual grounds for accusation, invents one before he turns his bashi-bazouks loose upon the hated Christians. If the Turkish outrages in Armenia and Crete justified rebuke at the hands of the nations, why does not Russian massacre of Jews in Bessarabia call for as earnest, as insistent a protest?

We were willing to fight for the relief of human suffering in Cuba, and never did we win greater glory than by that willingness. A word from Washington went far to influence Russian designs in Manchuria the other day. That was in the interest merely of commercial rights. The country is full of the wail of a race over the slaughter of its brothers; it begs a word of protest and defense. A word is easily spoken, and if all the enlightened nations speak it together, it will be easily made good.

[*Public Ledger and Philadelphia Times, May 20, 1903*]

THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR'S EXPLANATION

The duty of a diplomat always to defend his country's good name is well understood. Ordinarily, however, it would seem to be desirable, whenever it be possible, for him to give his defense some, even if ever so slight, relationship to the truth. Count Cassini is an astute personage. His resourcefulness has been proven in many fields of diplomacy, and, therefore, the wretched and absurd emptiness of his explanation of the Kishineff massacre is the most damning confession of the inexcusableness of that infamy.

The Russian ambassador declares that the reason for "the unfriendly attitude" of the Russians to the Jews "is found in the fact that the Jews will not work in the field nor engage in agriculture." The Jew of Russia, he says, is a money lender. He " takes advantage of the Russian peasant, whom he soon has in his power, and ultimately destroys." When the patience of the peasant is exhausted, a conflict occurs. The peasant is a patient person, but " it is only natural that he should entertain a feeling of resentment for the one who has wrought his ruin "—and so on.

This romantic reconstruction of Russian society is one of the most daring feats that Count Cassini's agile diplomatic fancy has ever accomplished.

It is true that the Russian Jews do not engage in agriculture nor work in the field. They are not allowed to do so. They are not permitted to own or even to rent land, and are confined, passing their lives within allotted " pales of settlement " lying almost wholly in the cities. They are restricted by arbitrary laws to certain trades. Five-sixths of all the Jews in Russia never leave the Pales, and have no chance to see, much less to overpower and destroy, the peasant by whose fancied sufferings the ambassador is so moved. As a simple matter of fact, the Jews of Russia, as a class, are abjectly poor, and the few of them who are wealthy enough to have money to lend are in no position to practice extortion. On the face of it, to plead the wrongs of the people of Russia at the hands of a small class, oppressed, corralled and kept under every species of civil and legal disability—political, social and barbaric persecution of the most detestable character—as the justification for a wholesale butchery, is absurd. And, of course, they were not peasants—they were citizens of a capital city, populated by 120.000 people—who fell upon the Jews of Kishineff and smote them with slaughter, while official eyes looked on. Can such a nation claim the decent respect of mankind, or is it entitled to be regarded as a civilized country?

PITTSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

[*Chronicle Telegraph, Pittsburg, Pa., May 18, 1903*]

RUSSIA AND THE JEWS

Since a ministerial circular has been issued forbidding them to defend themselves, the Russian government's duty of giving the Jews full protection is increased. It is true that the Russians have been forbidden to further molest them, but this order must be strongly backed up with force unless the imperial ministry wishes it understood that its order to the Jews is simply for the purpose of rendering them powerless against attack, and so that resort to self-defense may be construed as rebellion and an attack upon the state. Circumstances are such that a moral obligation rests upon the central government not merely to protect the persecuted Jews, but to relieve their distress and restore to them the properties and means of livelihood of which they have been despoiled. It is extremely doubtful whether such relief will be given and restoration made, but the least that can be done will be to give adequate protection. Civilization demands this and more. The policy of concealment, evasion and misrepresentation that has been pursued in connection with the mob outbreak and its consequences, coupled with the ministerial order mentioned, points, however, to gentle dealing with the persecutors of the Jews and repressive measures toward the latter. Whether it will go so far as to justify remonstrance from other powers remains to develop, but if protest cannot be put in official form, disapproval may be made to appear in tenders of assistance to the afflicted ones, and such assistance is clearly necessary, notwithstanding the official assurances to ambassador McCormick that no aid is required.

[*Commercial Gazette, Pittsburg, Pa., May 3, 1903*]

RUSSIAN FANATICISM

The fear that the massacre at Kishineff may be followed by other attacks upon the Jews by Russian mobs is certainly well founded, if the peasantry have gotten the notion in their heads that such is the Czar's will. Details of the affair at Kishineff are to the effect that the riot swelled to a massacre when the peasants from the surrounding country poured into the city. The reports given by The Associated Press of the good-natured way in which the peasants went about the horrible work, while they seem incredible, are quite in accord with Russian characteristics. It seems strange that bands of murderers should be compassionate in their approach, saying "Poor brethren, we must kill you; it is so ordered," but that is just the way the Russian peasantry behave when moved by the fanatical impulses to which they are subject.

The childish ignorance of the Russian peasantry makes them a prey to delusions. It has not been many years since they were serfs, and their emancipation by the Czar appears to have a delirious effect upon their imagination. The Czar is a mysterious semi-divine being, who is in sympathy with his people and takes sides with them against the nobility and the officials. His action in freeing them from the rule of their feudal lords is sufficient proof of that, and they are ready to believe anything as to the designs and purposes of the Czar. In April last year the report spread among the peasants that the Czar had decided to divide the lands of the nobles among the people, who were now at liberty to help themselves. In some districts village meetings were held and committees appointed who waited on the landlords in an orderly manner to arrange for the distribution of their goods and lands. In Poltava and Kharkoff they simply proceeded to help themselves, breaking into barns and houses and taking anything they wanted. When the authorities intervened the peasants explained that they were acting under the permission of the Czar. The uprising now took the form of systematic destruction and incendiarism, as the peasants were enraged by the resistance of the authorities, which they regarded as the result of a conspiracy of the nobles and land owners to defeat the will of the Czar. Over 18,000 peasants took part in these riots, which were not suppressed until many had been killed and wounded by the troops. Last June similar outbreaks took place in the Caucasus, the special animosity of the mob being directed against factories and agricultural machines. These outbreaks were traced to revolutionary agents, who went about saying the Czar had sent them to tell the people that machinery was a device to grind the poor by diminishing the need for laborers.

Bessarabia was among the provinces included in the area of the agrarian disturbances of the last year, and it is not unlikely that the anti-Jewish uprising was supported by similar delusions as to the will of the Czar. Another massacre there is unlikely, as the authorities are on guard, and the removal of the late governor of Bessarabia is a wholesome warning against negligence, but the disposition that prompted the outbreak is widely diffused, and the situation of the Jewish population in all southern and western provinces of Russia is undoubtedly one of peril.

[*Commercial Gazette, Pittsburg, Pa., May 22, 1903*]

COUNT CASSINI DISCOUNTED

The Russian ambassador to the United States was quoted a few days ago as declaring in partial explanation of the atrocities committed upon the Jews in Bessarabia that the Jews in Russia had refused to become identified with agricultural pursuits, preferring to be money lenders and grog shop keepers, thus corrupting the Russian peasants, who in turn rose against their commercial oppressors. If Count Cassini has been correctly quoted he is wide of the facts and his statements should not be allowed to go uncorrected in justice to the Jews in Russia, who, whatever justifying cause they may have offered for the ill-treatment they have suffered, cannot be held guilty on this charge. Indeed, the very opposite condition exists, for Russia has strictly forbidden the Jewish population in the provinces of West, South and Little Russia to engage in agricultural pursuits at all, confining them to the towns.

This alleged assertion on the part of Count Cassini gives pertinency to the facts concerning Jewish occupancy of Russia and the terms upon which they have been permitted to reside there. They found their first admission into the country two centuries ago under an edict of Peter the Great. Less than a century afterward they were all expelled by Elizabeth, but Catherine II, who succeeded Elizabeth, re-admitted them and Alexander I gave them full liberty in trade and industry. Again, later, Nicholas I withdrew these privileges and excluded them from a large part of the kingdom, crowding them into small provinces. In acquiring Poland later, Russia became the land of the largest Jewish population in the world. And it may be added, incidentally, that she treats these alien citizens with more severity than any other country in the world. They are practically excluded from the service of the state, are compelled to live within the towns and are strictly forbidden to purchase, rent or occupy any agricultural land.

The proverbial thrift of the Jews finds its expression, however, under even these unfavorable conditions. In competition with the weak and thriftless Russian peasant the Jew acquires all the trade and prosperity. Some one has very justly declared that the law compels the Jew in Russia to do the very things for which he is now being condemned. He has not taken to agriculture because the law sternly forbids. He has prospered in the towns because the law has forced him into trade.

SACRAMENTO CALIFORNIA

[*Record-Union, Sacramento, Cal., May 22, 1903*]

THE RUSSIAN HORROR

The news from Bessarabia sets down the loss of life in the massacre at Kishineff at less than a hundred and the official account of the Russians places it at a little over fifty, instead of three hundred, as at first reported. But it is conceded even by the Russian officials that the number wounded added to those killed reaches the figure originally given as representing the dead.

But whether the total of killed is very great or not in no wise reduces the horror of the massacre. It seems to have been an attack of so brutal a character that it is difficult to think of the perpetrators of the crimes as human beings. In history there are a few records which compare with that of Kishineff, but they are very few. That in a country pretending to a degree of civilization such a thing could be in the blaze of the twentieth century is all but unthinkable.

That the Russian government is largely blameworthy for the horror is positive. No sort of explanation or expression of regret will remove that judgment from the minds of impartial men. The Russian authorities did not attempt to protect the Jews; the police, if they did not side with the rioters, at least offered the assailed no sort of protection. The Czar's Cabinet knew that there was impending just such a massacre as took place, for it appears to have issued orders through the proper department to the local authorities at Kishineff to placate the people, but not to intervene by use of arms. Since the massacre papers that have published news of the event have been suppressed, gagged or warned, and it is wired that a ministerial order has been issued forbidding Jews to defend themselves when attacked by mobs. This, however, may be taken with allowance, since it is more probable that the order is one intended to conserve peace and relates to the carrying or use of arms by the people, Jews or Gentiles.

Civilization will hold Russia accountable for the massacre, but Russia will never render an account. We have seen the end of the matter already. No nation will attempt to call the Russian government to the bar of judgment. Beyond the protest of civilization and its demand for justice there will be nothing done. Unhappily the calls and demands of civilization have no material executive force behind them such as is possessed by organized societies. In the process of time all that civilization demands will be accorded, the evolution of humanity assures us of that; but it means long waiting, the patience of quarter centuries.

Such things as Kishineff horrors will become impossible in the day when mankind, knowing and commanding its human rights, has established justice throughout the civilized world, and that time must come. Until then in such nations as Russia we will have such brutal outrages as are there perpetrated upon the Jews, though there is reason to believe that they will become less and less frequent as time passes. For, after all, the moral force of civilization's protest shames even nations in time into something of moderation, though it may not work speedy reforms.

[*Record-Union, Sacramento, Cal., May 22, 1903*]

TRUE CAUSES OF THE MASSACRE

The Russian ambassador to the United States says in explanation of the atrocities at Kishineff that the Russian peasant falls afoul of and kills the Jews, his neighbors, because they are money lenders. "Give a Jew $2," says Count Cassini, "and he becomes a banker and a money lender." In this capacity he takes advantage of the Russian peasants, whom he soon has in his power and ultimately destroys. The unfriendly attitude of the peasantry, says the Minister, is likewise due to the fact that the Jew will not work in the fields, engage in the labor of agriculture, etc.

These explanations may go for all claimed for them as palliatives or excuses, but they never can be received by a self-respecting civilization as excusing the butchery and savage cruelty practiced upon the Jews in Kishineff. If the Russian government knew what the ambassador says is common knowledge, why did it not take pains to prevent such horrors, and why does it not endeavor to lift the Russian peasant out of the mire of dense ignorance in which such ideas germinate as those suggested by the Count?

Russia is an enlightened nation. Its lawyers, financiers and politicians are second to none in the world. It is an autocracy, the head of which is revered by the Russian peasant next to God and whose edicts are received much as are divine laws. Are we to be told at this day, in the light of such facts, that it is impossible to command, restrain and enlighten the peasantry so far as to make the butchery by them of fellow-Russians of a differing faith unlikely? Moreover, it is in evidence that officials of education and power prompted the massacre by taking bribes to afford protection and refusing it to those unable to pay blood money.

It is no crime to be a money lender or a shop keeper. They are essentials of civilization and have their legitimate places. There would be no money lenders if there were no money borrowers; no shop men if there were no purchasers. Each class is the natural outcome of business relations between peoples. Nowhere is the money lender highly esteemed by the money borrower whose necessities he relieves, and without whose aid there would be more of human suffering in the world than there is.

But all that aside—it is not a crime to be a man of business, be it pipe-mender, dealer in diamonds or a millionaire manipulator of railroad and oil stocks. Not all men may or can labor in the fields, but if all the Jews of Russia were farm hands or soil owners they would be despised and set upon just the same. The real secret, if it be a secret, of the massacres of Jews in Russia is found in race prejudice and religious intolerance. Fanatical leaders, vicious conspirators and crafty priests lead the lower orders of the people to believe that Jews butcher Christian infants, drink their blood and offer up Christian children as sacrifices upon the Russian Eastertide. Race prejudice and religious intolerance have ever been the motive for cruelty, have promoted wars and massacres and made human blood flow as fountains at the feet of brutality.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

[*Globe-Democrat, St. Louis, Mo., May 18, 1903*]

AMERICA AND RUSSIA

The massacre of the Jews at Kishineff actually arouses the world's horror. Protests have been made against them in many cities of the United States. The board of aldermen in New York has passed resolutions condemning the atrocities, and calling on the government of the United States to use its influence with the Russian authorities to end these outrages and to bring their perpetrators to punishment. Just how much of the reported murders is true and how much is exaggeration can not be told by anybody outside of the district affected. The Russian minister at Washington says the stories are exaggerated, but enough has been learned by the outside world to show that there is a basis at least for the reports. Moreover, there appears to be no doubt that an order was issued from St. Petersburg denying the Jews the right to defend themselves against the mob. The soldiers of the Czar offered them very little defense, and in some cases there have been stories that the soldiers aided in the massacres.

But President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay have no chance to do anything toward ending the outrages. Russia is an independent nation, having no guardian among the other powers. Her acts in her home policy are not subject to the supervision of any other country. Russia has done many things recently which assail civilized usages, but no other nation has a right to call her to account therefor. She has just abolished the last vestige of the old semi-independence of Finland. That province will lose its identity as completely as Poland did. This is a crime against civilization, humanity and progress, but the world is powerless to prevent it. There is no way short of war to put a stop to these outrages, and it is to be presumed that not many persons in this country want the United States to go to war with Russia on account of any violations of the moral law which she has committed in her domestic policy. Protests from Washington to St. Petersburg against the Jewish massacres would be apt to do more harm than good. They would be an interference in the domestic affairs of another nation, which is an offense against the canons of international comity that the United States will not be in a hurry to commit.

In Russia, as in all the other countries of continental Europe, there is a strong prejudice among the masses of the people against the Jews. The difference in Russia's case is that the local officials there share in the popular feeling and ordinarily take no measures to prevent it from leading to murder and destruction of property. The world saw a few years ago an instance in the Dreyfus case of this sort of feeling in France. Jew-baiting is a common manifestation in Germany. There have been anti-Jewish riots in Italy and Spain. The feeling against the Jews in nearly all the countries of continental Europe is about like what Louisiana's and Mississippi's was against the negro twenty or twenty-five years ago, when, in theory at least, he was allowed to vote. Possibly the expressions at the mass meetings in the United States against the Jewish outrages may have some effect on the Russian government, especially as these expressions voice the sentiment of the civilized part of the world. Nothing which can be done by the government at Washington, however, would have the slightest influence on the authorities at St. Petersburg. But there is a chance that the world's horror at these crimes, as expressed through the press of the United States, England and some of the other countries, may impress on the Czar's ministers the advisability of taking steps to stop the atrocities, and bring some of the perpetrators to punishment.

[*Globe-Democrat, St. Louis, Mo., May 26, 1903*]

OUTRAGES ON THE JEWS

It is no small matter to be the object of the moral condemnation of the world. The slaughter of the Jews in Russia is plainly caused by racial and religious fanaticism, fanned into mob insanity by crafty, educated leaders of a demagogic type. The editor of an anti-Jewish paper at Kishineff, the scene of a terrible massacre, declares that unless Jews become Christians within one year the rule should be that no one of the race be permitted to remain in Russia. There is a large body of Jew-haters in Russia who work up, through the press and otherwise, a maniacal feeling of hostility that when let loose shows no mercy to man, woman or child. The conditions of tolerance are put on an impossible basis. No race of men with enlightenment or sense of manhood will change their religion on compulsion. They may go into exile to escape persecution, but the victims at

Kishineff were not offered that alternative. A mob as fierce and unrelenting as a vast pack of wolves slew every Jew in their path, and now one of their unchecked leaders notifies Jews generally that they must leave the empire or secure Russian citizenship by renouncing their religion.

For some reason connected with imperial politics the Jew-haters in various countries of Europe are allowed undue latitude. Russia is worst of all in this respect, its policy having now drawn upon it the censure of mankind. It is useless to say the Czar cannot stop the outrages, when he can instantaneously stamp out political offenders and the slightest sign of revolt. If the persecution of Jews has so powerful a hold upon the Russian people that its repression would endanger the empire or render the reigning family intensely unpopular, then Russia is not in a healthful condition, not entitled to rank high among modern nations. Keeping the empire "quiet" by blinking the general assassination of a helpless race, is an infamous kind of politics. The Czar has not acted vigorously nor to the point in protecting the Jews, nor in discouraging the spirit of oppression and murder. His policy, as far as the outside world can judge, is superficial and temporizing.

Russia's internal government can not be dictated by other nations, but mankind can make known its horror at such barbarities as have occurred in Bessarabia, and are threatened elsewhere in the empire. Civilized peoples generally, through meetings and resolutions, can express their emphatic condemnation, appeal to the Czar for justice, and extend sympathy and aid to the sufferers. This cause is one of simple humanity. Mobs are not unknown outside of Russia, but nowhere else do they amount to a widespread effort to destroy a whole race on religious grounds, while the authorities look on without applying the only correctives that can stay the murder of thousands without regard to age or sex. Unless Russia acts adequately the world will necessarily conclude that it is a lawless country and a radically backward one in civilization.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

[*Call, San Francisco, Cal., June 12, 1903*]

RUSSIA'S ATTITUDE

The semi-official reply of Russia to the offers of assistance for the suffering Jews in Bessarabia is an exceedingly astute and diplomatic statement. According to it the Czar, having the means, will give all needed relief to the despoiled Jews, and the government will accept no aid from other countries. As it is not known that any such aid had been offered to the government, this declaration is intended to make the impression abroad that Russia is sympathetic to the sufferers, to the extent of giving all needed succor. But as the great sums raised in this country and in Great Britain for that purpose are sent to private parties in Russia, and are sufficient for the present needs of all the families that were made homeless, or by murder robbed of their breadwinners, it will be seen that Czardom gets high credit at low cost.

To the declaration that Russia will not heed any interference in the matter by other governments there is no objection. As The Call said in the beginning, the affair had no international features and those who are urging mass meetings to demand that our government interfere were influenced by sinister and not sympathetic motives, and desire only to discredit their own government. As the victims of the mob were the subjects of Russia, other governments have no right to interfere by protest or otherwise. To claim such right would forever destroy international dignity and peace. Those who urged it cared nothing for the Russian Jews, except to use their murder as a means of business advertising and for accomplishing partisan ends.

From this point on the Russian declaration is crafty in the extreme. It says that Russia will not take offense if other nations exclude Russian Jews as immigrants on the ground that they are undesirable! Of course not. Russia excuses the legal inequality of her Jewish subjects on the ground that they are undesirable nationals. If any other nation exclude them as aliens on the same ground her position will be indorsed, which is what she desires. If the United States should protest to Russia against the immigration hither of Jews because they are unfit citizens Russia would cheerfully assent. Such protest might give an international aspect to the massacre, and Russia could answer: "Yes, it is admitted that the Jews are undesirable immigrants. Indeed they are so bad that the Czar, with all his power, cannot always restrain his Christian subjects from taking private vengeance upon them." It is not likely under the circumstances, that our immigration laws will discriminate against the Russian Jews, but they will be admitted upon the same terms as other aliens.

The excessive craft of Russia is further shown by an extension of the assent to this right of exclusion, to the effect that she admits the right of every nation to say who shall come through its gates and who shall not. In the ability of diplomacy to transpose and substitute terms, this may cover Russia's right to do what she badly wants to do in her Chinese zone, and not only exclude therefrom "whom" but "what" she desires to keep out. This would cover commerce. The Czar charmed the world by his hymn of peace in suggesting The Hague Conference. At that time the Siberian railroad was under construction and unfinished. Russia had no means of getting a military force into China except by sea, and that was impracticable. So the Czar preached peace till his military road was finished, and now, with an inaccessible land line for the transportation of armies, he is ready to gobble what he pleases in China and Korea and challenge the objector to a war. It was a very brilliant piece of strategy, and the diplomatic meaning of this latest declaration about the Jews and the right of exclusion is equally smart diplomacy.

TACOMA, WASHINGTON

[*Ledger, Tacoma, Wash., June 4, 1903*]

ARMING THE JEWS

News comes from Russia that the Jews in the various cities have organized for defense, and that the men and women are all armed with revolvers. That they are necessarily deficient in target practice is to be regretted. When a few weeks ago they were set upon in Kishineff and butchered by the scores, they had nothing with which to resist. So far as putting up a fight against the assassins was concerned, they were as helpless as an equal amount of rabbits. In order to show its interest in the matter, the government promptly issued orders that the Jews refrain from securing arms of any sort, and, not being fools in their generation, the Jews plucked up courage to defy this order. The people of the civilized world will be glad to hear it. A massacre is a frightful thing, but if the people chosen for slaughter can manage to turn the tables, the catastrophe has redeeming qualities. It is to be hoped there will be no more ghastly affairs such as recently occurred at Kishineff, but if one were to be attempted, news that the dead belonged mostly to the attacking party would be almost cheering. Certainly the people were wise in arming themselves. If the government does not like it, there is no possibility that a worse penalty can be meted out than that which is customary now through the mere fact of helplessness. Doubtless the rabble that assailed the Jews was a pack of cowards, making the venture in the full knowledge that they would not receive physical hurt, and that the ruling powers would lend tacit approval. The powers have not changed, but the victims have concluded not to be looted and slain passively. They will have the best wishes of the decent part of humanity the first time there is occasion for the use of the weapons.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

[*Gazette, Terre Haute, Ind., May 26, 1903*]

THE KISHINEFF OUTRAGE

The prompt steps taken by the Jewish citizens of Terre Haute to raise money for the relief of the survivors of the massacre of their brethren at Kishineff, Russia, reflects credit on their hearts and heads. It is not often that they appeal to their neighbors and friends of other faiths to join them in a movement in behalf of their race. Indeed, so far back as we can remember this is the first time any such appeal has ever been made. Our Hebrew friends take care of their own people in need of assistance. Within their own circle they provide for the relief of their own destitute deserving ones. Like all the rest of us they have their own poor but they take care of them.

But they do not stop there. In this town there is not a relief society that they have not assisted. The Society for Organized Charity, the Social Settlement, the two hospitals and every relief organization of every sort and kind has been helped by them with money and work. No appeal has ever been made to them in vain.

Now they are face to face with a calamity that has stirred the sympathy of the world. Remorseless war, as fiendish as uncalled for, has been levied against their race in a great district of Russia. Fanatic mobs, unrestrained by the authorities if indeed not incited by them, have made murderous attacks on their race, killing and burning, sparing neither age nor sex. A wholesale exodus from this hell on earth is in contemplation. And just now there is pressing need of immediate relief. In this emergency our Hebrew friends here and all over the world have opened their hearts and their pocket books. Here our Hebrew friends have started a subscription. Practically every Jew in town subscribed and at once. And they have been liberal. All this they did before they asked for aid. Now what they have done is to distribute over the city in a half dozen public places copies of this subscription paper. One will be found in the business office of The Gazette. They ask all who desire to join them in this matter to do so. It ought to be a pleasure to every citizen of Terre Haute to put his name down on this subscription paper. Surely no more righteous cause could appeal to the sympathies of any human being. An infamous outrage has been perpetrated on an unoffending people. It is for the world to do what it can to heal these causeless wounds, to show Russia the indignation that is felt at her cruelty and, to come nearer home and to particularize, to reciprocate and, so to speak, to get even with our Jewish friends for the numberless instances in which they have assisted all of us in all our worthy enterprises.

TOLEDO, OHIO

[*Times, Toledo, Ohio, June 7, 1903*]

RUSSIA'S DEFENSE

We have at least an official defense on the part of Russian government for the outrages committed against the Jews in Bessarabia. The plea is one well worthy of Russian diplomatic methods. It is in short just as clever, just as brutal, just as false as Russia's worst enemies could allege against her. Her defense puts her in rather worse light than she was before. Her own laws and savagely repressive measures against the Jews and the pacific character of the race itself everywhere give the lie direct to her allegation that the outrages were merely reprisal for resistance to Jewish disorder.

The defense admits practically all that has been charged in American newspapers concerning the superstition, ignorance and brutality of the Russian peasant. Responsibility for the degraded condition of this peasantry rests and must ever rest with the Russian church and state. Therefore this extenuation cannot be at all allowed except in so far as to shift the blame upon the government instead of the people. The plea itself shows that not merely the local police officers, but the whole provincial government machinery was grossly lax and negligent in the discharge of its duty.

In a country like America where local government is a fact and centralization of authority is at a minimum such a plea as this advanced by Russia might be admitted. But so compactly organized and so sensitive is the Russian police system that the remotest provinces are quickly in touch with the powers at the capital. Russian bureaucracy is thoroughly cognizant of the feeling against the Jews not merely here but elsewhere. It not merely knew of this feeling, but by repressive and utterly uncalled for legislation it has set the example to this ignorant, degraded peasantry of persecution. It has every means of knowing to what length such a mob as this excited by alcohol, by race and creed bigotry, plunder and lust could go.

Russia did finally stop the outrages. That she could stop them at all damns her everywhere that she did not stop them at the first outbreak. The Russian government never has any difficulty in dealing with mobs. The announcement that the governors have been dismissed, that the rioters have been punished and that hundreds are now on their way to mines in Siberia may or may not be true according to the amount of credibility to be given to any Russian official statement. Besides, punishment will not restore life or honor to the victims of these horrible massacres. We cannot lose sight of these facts, that the Russian government having the power has permitted the awful crimes against women and children which were so marked a feature of the Kishineff massacre and that the victims were denied protection by the law officers and the shelter of the police stations.

The cleverest thing about the official defense is the statement that their peasants, when driven to frenzy and excited by race and religious hatred and under the influence of alcohol, are worse than the Americans who lynch negroes.

Americans, to our shame be it confessed, do lynch negro criminals but they do not go so far as to murder innocent women and children with exceptional cases of barbarity nor do they commit indiscriminate crimes against life and property. The Russian government stands rather weaker before the world because of that lame apology than it did before. There is this hope for the Jew, however. The Russian bear feels the sting of public sentiment and smarts under it. There is hope for him even so long as he is sensitive to this refining influence.

TOPEKA, KANSAS

[*Capital, Topeka, Kan., June 4, 1903*]

RUSSIAN JEWS AND RUSSIAN LAND LAWS

Jewish residents of the United States and enterprising newspapers have not left much of Count Cassini, the Russian ambassador's, charge that the Russian Jews are averse to agriculture and will not live on and cultivate the land. The Jews were for ages an agricultural people, and it is true that they are not now, but are more inclined to trade and commerce. In the United States they are not given to agriculture but segregate in cities. Possibly for so many centuries life has been made so miserable for the Jews and they have been dispossessed of landed property so often that aversion to living on the land and a tendency to keep together in sections of cities have become instinctive.

But the knotty question the Russian ambassador has been called upon to unravel is why Russia has such rigorous laws forbidding Jews to occupy the land if they have no disposition in that country to do so. By the laws of Russia Jews have been for many years forbidden to own the land or to hold a mortgage on it or to occupy and farm it. The Hartford Courant prints a letter from a Hartford Jew who cites these laws enacted by the Czar's government relating to the owning and occupying of the land by Russian Jews:

These laws were adopted in 1882 and contain the following provisions:

Landed estates, including also land which has been apportioned to peasants for their permanent use, cannot be sold to Jews (Volume IX, law on status, supplement 1 to section 330 [note]; section 3, 1887).

Land, and other appurtenances belonging to an estate, and which are not part of allotments made to peasants on their emancipation, may not be sold to Jews. (Ibid., section 4, supplement ibid.).

Estates in the western and Baltic provinces, formerly belonging to the Jesuits, and which have to be sold by auction to satisfy debts of their owners, cannot be bought by Jews. (Volume VIII, law on the administration of crown property in the western and Baltic governments; supplement to section 1 [note 1]; section 7).

Jews are not admitted to the public auctions of crown lands. (Ibid., supplement to section 2 [note 2]; section 6).

Jews are not permitted to attend the public auctions of property mortgaged to banks, and forfeited for non-payment. (Volume XIII, law of common aid, supplement to section 165 [note 2]; section 3, 1857).

Jews are not admitted to public auctions of allotments of land forfeited by peasants who have made default in payment of serfdom commutation tax, or state land tribute; or in Bessarabia, their land rate. (Rules about the peasantry, special supplement to volume IX; rules on distress, sections 135-138; rules on peasants belonging to the state, supplement to section 15 [note 1]; section 7; rules about the "Tsarani" [peasants in Bessarabia] section 95; section 5).

All Jews without exception, are prohibited from purchasing landed property from land owners or peasants in the nine western gubernia. (Note 3 to section 859, volume IX, law on status, 1886).

On the face of it the very existence of these land laws would imply that left to themselves Jews would own and cultivate the agricultural lands of Russia. Certainly, if they are averse to doing so such laws would be superfluous. Or, the existence of such laws may have been the primary cause of the aversion the Russian ambassador, in his letter stigmatizing the character of the Russian Jew, speaks of.

[*Herald, Topeka, Kan., May 27, 1903*]

The recent criticism of the American press is said to have wounded the feelings of Russian officials. Incidentally, the laxity of the enforcement of law on the part of Russian officials at Kishineff has wounded the whole Jewish race of whom millions are Americans.

WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

[*Evening Star, Washington, D. C., July 17, 1903*]

RUSSIA AND THE PETITION

Russia's refusal to receive any petition from American citizens on the subject of the Kishineff massacre, official notification of which has just reached Washington, was to have been expected from all that had preceded in the course of the discussion on this subject. Today's publications include the text of the petition and a few of the names attached to it. It was evidently one of the most extraordinary documents ever prepared, in view of the circumstances to which it was addressed and the character of the signers. They included men of all religious faiths and the highest stations in life, as statesmen, educators, preachers, publicists and financiers.

There can be no quarrel with Russia on the score of her refusing to receive the petition. The day has not yet come for the exchange in this manner of international sentiments, and each government must be expected to guard carefully the avenues of communication. The petition was in itself respectful enough, perhaps rather overrespectful. It was not a charge against the Russian government, but against the riotous residents of Bessarabia and those provincial officials who seem to have been derelict in their duty. It was most pointedly a plea for the institution of such measures as would effectively guard against a repetition of the disorders, which, the petitioners declared, the Jews of the province still fear.

Under the circumstances the petition was a gentle admonition to Russia that the atrocity of the Easter season might soon be repeated unless steps are taken to avert such a disaster.

If Russia is to be believed the St. Petersburg authorities have acted, and are still acting, vigorously in the prosecution and punishment of those who were guilty of the atrocities of April and the official laxity accompanying and permitting them. It may not be true. Russia may be covering its complacency and inaction in the premises by the cloak of its vast powerful press censorship. But the United States government cannot scrutinize Russia's domestic affairs, nor can it assume that Russia is failing in its duty to the world in the matter of the preservation of a religious tolerance such as the Czar in his recent rescript proclaimed broadcast.

Should the Kishineff horror be repeated, and should there ensue a heavy emigration of Jews from Russia in consequence of the fears of these people, and should the United States in turn feel the bad effects of such an exodus, then there would be ground for not merely personal, but official, representations to Russia on the score of the evils causing such a movement. As the recipient of the bulk of the immigrants it could with propriety address itself to Russia and demand a cure of the conditions leading to the migration. The whole matter would, however, be one of the application of moral influence, and it is altogether probable that the Russian government in the present instance has already been affected to the full extent of the possibilities by the preparation of this petition and its tentative presentation.

[*Times, Washington, D. C., May 16, 1903*]

THE KISHINEFF MASSACRE

Man's inhumanity to man is again shockingly illustrated in the atrocities perpetrated on the defenseless Jews of Bessarabia. Details of the massacre at Kishineff, just beginning to reach this country, show that hundreds of Jews—men, women and children alike—were killed or maimed by mobs of Russian Christians, while thousands were left homeless and penniless after two or three successive days of arson and pillage.

The barbarities inflicted on the Jewish colony at Kishineff seem almost beyond belief in this first decade of the twentieth century. In their fury and savagery they recall the cruelties of Jew-baiting in the darkest of the Middle Ages. They betray a spirit of brutality and a blindness of fanaticism which Western civilization can now look upon only as shameful and abhorrent survivals of an era of religious bigotry and religious persecution.

It is by no means clear what causes underlay this violent and bloody outbreak against the Jews. Race hatreds, religious prejudices, and social antipathies seem all to have played some part in inciting the Christian mob to violate synagogues, loot shops, and assault and murder defenseless men, women and children. Apparently, the mob was allowed to do its work unchecked by the civil or military authorities. Yet so intense and so general was the spirit of outrage that the massacre might almost be held to have had the approval of an overwhelming local sentiment.

That such a condition can exist in a Russian city the size of Kishineff is in itself even more appalling than any mere outbreak of a temporarily frenzied mob. It indicates a temper and attitude which must excite the amazement as it has already offended the humanity of the civilized world.

Russia's fixed policy is either to Russianize and Christianize the Jew or to expel him. The rest of the world may not have the right to challenge this policy. But it has the right to insist that in the treatment of the Jew some decent regard be had for civilized opinion—for common Christian notions of justice, righteousness, tolerance, and human kindness.

WEST SUPERIOR, WISCONSIN

[*Evening Telegram, West Superior, Wis., May 29, 1903*]

JEWISH PERSECUTION

If the Jew-haters of Eastern and Southeastern Europe were capable of judging the effects of treating the race as men and brethren they would see that there is no reason for their present murderous persecution of this race except their own evil passions. It is probable that the Russians know this now, but that their acts are the result of their own innate "cussedness."

The Jews have long been enfranchised in the United States and England. The results speak for themselves, they are not uncomplimentary to the Jewish race. A man of Jewish birth has been premier of England. Few men stand higher in history than Disraeli. London has had Jewish Lord-Mayors, whose administrations were as good as any. The Jewish vote in the United States is well distributed and is not clannish. The Jews seek no converts, which fact limits their number to those born of Jewish parents. Their business peculiarities are race characteristics and their ambition to succeed in business does not exceed that of any other race. Treating them well has worked well in enlightened countries. The granting of equal rights has proven satisfactory. Wherever the contrary course has been pursued contrary results have been secured. The present persecution of the race in Southeastern Europe is bringing serious results to the persecutors and not the least of these is the lessened esteem in which the latter are held by the other nations of the world. The present Jewish persecution is a peculiar form of fiendishness and results from ignorance.

WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA

[*News, Wheeling, W. Va., May 24, 1903*]

CONDONED BY THE CZAR

All doubt that the Russian Government has condoned the massacre at Kishineff is settled in the opinion of the civilized world. When the Czar promptly removed Count von Raaben, Governor of Bessarabia, it was thought that the action was a merited punishment upon the official who so carelessly allowed loyal subjects to be ruthlessly slaughtered. Now, however, the Russian ruler has appointed von Raaben to a responsible position in the Department of the Interior, a place fully as dignified and lucrative as the one he was supposed to have been retired from in disgrace. This shows that the Czar cares little for the lives of his subjects and that there is little humanity in his autocratic make-up. It also practically places the seal of official approval upon the massacre and is an implied request from the throne to continue the awful work.

A SILLY COMPARISON

Some unthinking persons, forever anxious to stir up old sores, have been likening the condition of the American negro to that of the Russian Jew. The fact that occasionally lynchings occur has probably led to this absurd comparison. It is really almost too silly to deserve attention. Negroes have never been slaughtered in this country. Sometimes they are lynched, but never unless they have committed some bold crime, and the lynchers do not confine their attention to negroes by any means, but are just as willing to swing Americans, Germans, Chinese, Mexicans or anybody without regard to race or color. But men and women in America are never slain because of their race or color or religion.

WICHITA, KANSAS

[*Eagle, Wichita, Kan., May 19, 1903*]

THAT AWFUL JEWISH MASSACRE

The dark ages can show nothing surpassing in fiendish atrocity the horrible details of the massacres at Kishineff, in Southern Russia, and which appeared in The Associated Press dispatches of last Saturday. Such a carnival of blood and terror, of fiendish cruelty in this enlightened day does not seem possible. The butchery and mutilation of half a thousand of women and children seems incredible. Of course these crimes were committed by an ignorant and superstitious peasantry, but back and over them is an enlightened government. It has long been reported to these superstitious peasants that the Jews are in the habit of slaughtering Christian children as propitiatory sacrifices of the Jewish "Easter." So the superstitious peasants have retaliated, just as would have happened four or five centuries ago, and with the most shocking results. That such things can happen in this enlightened age is hard to believe. There are plenty of troops in Russia, and there is no reason why the ignorant peasantry might not have been restrained from their bloodthirsty work. In addition to the 500 or more who have been killed, 700 houses and as many shops have been looted. The Russian officials have been duly informed, and the Czar is said to have notified the governors of these provinces that they will be held personally responsible for the failure to prevent such acts in the future. As the Czar is supposed to be a humane man, he should make an example of some of these provincial governors if this barbarism is not quickly stopped.

PART THIRD

RELIEF MEASURES AND THE PETITION

PART THIRD

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The horror and indignation of the American people at the atrocities committed upon the Jews of Kishineff took practical expression in two ways, one looking to the immediate relief of acute suffering at Kishineff, the other to the amelioration of the condition of the Jews in Russia. The latter may in a sense be regarded as a summing up and a specification of the resolutions adopted by gatherings of citizens and by various public bodies and calling upon the Government of the United States to intervene in behalf of the Jews of Russia.

In all the large cities of the United States, in smaller towns too numerous for detailed mention, and in not a few country districts, relief committees were organized to solicit contributions in aid of the sufferers at Kishineff. The origin of these committees was various: sometimes they were composed of citizens of all creeds appointed by the mayors of the municipalities, who in many cases acted as treasurers of the funds; sometimes they were connected with local charitable or congregational bodies; in some places the collections were taken up in response to the call issued to their subordinate bodies by the Council of Jewish Women, the Federation of American Zionists, and the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith; and in some places prominent newspapers acted as collection agents. The response to the appeals was quick and generous. The contributions were sent either directly to the central office of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* at Paris, or to one of three agencies in New York—to the Relief Committee of which Emanuel Lehman was Chairman and Daniel Guggenheim, Treasurer, and which was in communication with the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* at Paris; to the Relief Committee of which K. H. Sarasohn was Chairman, and Arnold Kohn, Treasurer, and which was in communication with the Central Relief Committee at Kishineff; or to Mr. William Randolph Hearst, who forwarded the moneys collected by his papers in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, to Treasurer Arnold Kohn.

The sum sent to Kishineff from the United States through all these agencies was set down, in a report made, on June 7, 1903, by the Central Relief Committee at Kishineff, to the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden* at Berlin, at 192,443 roubles (somewhat less than $100,000.00). This sum is about one-half of the sum contributed for relief by Russian sympathizers, and about one-fourth of the whole sum collected in all the countries of the world and put at the disposal of the Central Relief Committee.

The second concrete form into which the sentiment of the whole country, that the good offices of the Government of the United States should be enlisted in behalf of the Jews in Russia, crystallized itself was the petition framed by the Executive Committee of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, and submitted by it to the President of the United States with the request that it be transmitted to the Emperor of Russia.[1]

On June 15, 1903, this Committee waited upon the Honorable John Hay, the Secretary of State, and presented the following memorandum:

> Assuming the facts as officially reported by the Russian Government, including measures adopted after the massacre, and discarding all accounts in conflict therewith, the incident has appalled and horrified not only the Jews in Russia and elsewhere, but the whole American people.
>
> Up to the present time the American people have not been satisfied that the Jews in Russia are safe from new outrages hereafter.
>
> The Jews, as Jews, in Russia and elsewhere are likewise fearful of the future.
>
> This fear among the Jews of Russia stimulates emigration to the United States, and hence it is widely claimed that the United States should officially protest to Russia, as it did recently to Roumania. The precedent is invoked and the Government charged with timidity in this case because Russia is a great Power, while Roumania is weak.
>
> The distinction between this and the Roumanian situation is, however, plain. The Jews who come from Kishineff to the United States flee from mobs operating in contravention of Russian law, while the Jews who come from Roumania are unable to live there because of the Roumanian laws.
>
> It is true that the Russian laws operate to drive the Jews out of Russia, and into the United States, just as do the Roumanian laws, but a protest based on that fact may not be timely in connection with the Kishineff incident. It may be wiser to defer it to a more suitable time. Moreover, there may be diplomatic reasons why the Roumanian precedent should not be followed just now.

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[1] The official history of the petition has been published by the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith in the Report of its Executive Committee for 1902-1903. This has in part been drawn upon in compiling the present account.

But the American people are irritated, excited and impatient. They want something done. If nothing is done their hostility to Russia will be intensified and fixed. Ultimately those feelings will obtain expression in governmental action and the gap between Russia and the United States widened.

Russian diplomatists, with or without assistance from Americans, cannot placate the American public by denouncing the Jews. Efforts in that direction have been boomerangs. Moreover, Russia is constantly adding to the citizenship of this country an element which testifies against her. We have now scattered throughout this country about half a million Jews who have come from Russia during the past twenty-three years. They are thrifty, energetic, intelligent, ambitious and daily growing more influential and popular. Their number is increasing by immigration at the rate of not less than twenty-five thousand per annum.

The French, German or English Jew who comes to the United States makes for friendly relations between his native and his adopted country because he loves both, but the Russian Jew makes propaganda here against his native land. The traditional amity between Russia and the United States is thus being undermined by Russia's policy toward her Jewish subjects. The situation makes it highly desirable, without breach of diplomatic etiquette and without embarrassing our own Government, to satisfy the demands of the American people that something effective be done, so far as practicable, by or with the concurrence of our Government, to allay the fears of the Jews in Russia and thus stem their rush to this country, to convert the hostility to Russia on the part of American citizens, Jews and Gentiles, into friendliness and thus insure the traditional amity.

One or both of two methods are suggested for consideration, viz.:

A petition to the Czar (a tentative draft of which is annexed hereto) to which the B'nai B'rith will get the signatures of the leading men in the various States, our Government to assist unofficially or semi-officially in securing the delivery of this petition to the Czar and in procuring a favorable reply thereto, either by a direct communication or some other form of public expression. The manner in which the Government can render such assistance is not suggested for obvious reasons, but the Government's interest in the plan should be made known.

Using the Kishineff and other recent incidents of more or less similar nature as grounds, an official invitation by the United States, addressed to all the Powers, to an international conference, to consider persecutions and oppressions growing out of racial and religious prejudices and hatred, and to protect civilization and international concord from the evil effects of such persecutions and oppressions.

SIMON WOLF,
ADOLPH MOSES,
LEO N. LEVI,
JULIUS BIEN,
JACOB FURTH,
SOLOMON SULZEBERGER,
JOSEPH D. COONS.

June 15, 1903.

Secretary Hay, in reply to the address, said:

No person of ordinary humanity can have heard without deep emotion the story of the cruel outrages inflicted upon the Jews of Kishineff. These lamentable events have caused the profoundest impression throughout the world, but most especially in this country, where there are so many of your co-religionists who form such a desirable element of our population in industry, thrift, public spirit and commercial morality. Nobody can ever make the Americans think ill of the Jews as a class or as a race—we know them too well. In the painful crisis through which we are now passing the Jews of the United States have given evidence of the highest qualities—generosity, love of justice, and power of self-restraint.

The Government of the United States must exhibit the same qualities. I know you do not doubt the sentiments of the President. No one hates more energetically than he does such acts of cruelty and injustice as those we deplore. But he must carefully consider all the circumstances and then decide whether any official action can be taken in addition to the impressive and most effective expression of public opinion in this country during the last month.

You will have observed that no civilized Government in the world has yet taken official action—this consideration alone would bid us to proceed with care. The Emperor of Russia is entitled to our respect, not merely as the ruler of a great and friendly nation, but as a man whose personal character is even more elevated than his exalted station.

We should not be justified in assuming that this enlightened sovereign, who has given so many proofs of his devotion to peace and religious toleration, has not done and is not doing all that lies in his power to put a stop to these atrocities, to punish the guilty, whether they belong to the ignorant populace or to high official circles, and to prevent the recurrence of the outrages which have so shocked humanity.

In fact, all we know of the state of things in Russia tends to justify the hope that even out of the present terrible situation some good results may come; that He who watches over Israel does not slumber, and that the wrath of man, now, as so often in the past, shall be made to praise Him.

Accompanied by Secretary Hay, the delegation then went to the White House and laid the matter before the President, who replied as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN: I need not dwell upon the fact so patent as the widespread indignation with which the American people heard of the dreadful outrages upon the Jews in Kishineff. I have never in my experience in this country known of a more immediate or a deeper expression of sympathy for the victims and of horror over the appalling calamity that has occurred.

It is natural that while the whole civilized world should express such a feeling, it should yet be most intense and most widespread in the United States; for of all the great Powers I think I may say that the United States is that country in which from the beginning of its national career most has been done in the way of acknowledging the debt due to the Jewish race and of endeavoring to do justice to those American citizens who are of Jewish ancestry and faith.

One of the most touching poems of our own great poet Longfellow is that on the Jewish cemetery in Newport, and any one who goes through any of the old cemeteries of the cities which preserve the records of Colonial times will see the names of many an American of Jewish race, who in war or in peace did his full share in the founding of this nation.

From that day to this, from the day when the Jews of Charleston, of Philadelphia, of New York supported the patriotic cause and helped in every way, not only by money, but by arms, Washington and his colleagues who were founding this republic—from that day to the present we have had no struggle, military or civil, in which there have not been citizens of Jewish faith who played an eminent part for the honor and the credit of the nation.

I remember once General Howard mentioning to me the fact that two of his brigade commanders upon whom he had placed special reliance were Jews. Among the meetings of the Grand Army which I have attended one stands out with peculiar vividness—a meeting held under the auspices of the men of the Grand Army of Jewish creed, in the Temple in Forty-fourth Street, Temple Emanu-El, to welcome the returned veterans of the Spanish-American War of Jewish faith.

When in Santiago, when I was myself in the army, one of the best colonels among the regular regiments, who did so well on that day and who fought beside me, was a Jew. One of the commanders of the ships which in the blockade of the Cuban coast did so well was a Jew. In my own regiment I promoted five men from the ranks for valor and good conduct in battle. It happened by pure accident, for I knew nothing of the faith of any one of them, that these included two Protestants, two Catholics and one Jew; and while that was a pure accident it was not without its value as an illustration of the ethnic and religious make-up of our nation and of the fact that if a man is a good American that is all we ask, without thinking of his creed or his birthplace.

In the same way when I was Police Commissioner in New York, I had experience after experience of the excellent work done—an excellent work needing nerve and hardihood, excellent work of what I might call the Maccabee type—in the Police Department under me by police officers of Jewish extraction.

Let me give you one little incident with a direct bearing upon this question of persecution for race or religious reasons. You may possibly recall, I am sure, certain of my New York friends will recall, that during the time I was Police Commissioner a man came from abroad—I am sorry to say, a clergyman—to start an anti-Jewish agitation in New York and announced his intention of holding meetings to assail the Jews.

The matter was brought to my attention. Of course I had no power to prevent those meetings. After a good deal of thought I detailed a Jewish sergeant and forty Jewish policemen to protect the agitator while he held his meetings; so he made his speeches denouncing the Jews protected exclusively by Jews, which I always thought was probably the very most effective answer that could possibly be made to him, and probably the best object lesson we could give of the spirit in which we Americans manage such matters.

Now let me give you another little example of dealing with a Russian Jew, an experience that I had while handling the Police Department, and that could have occurred, I think, nowhere else than in the United States.

There was a certain man I appointed under the following conditions: I was attracted to him by being told, on a visit to the Bowery branch of the Young Men's Christian Association, that they had a young fellow there, a Jew, who had performed a feat of great note in saving people from a burning building and that they thought he was just the type for a policeman. I had him called up and told him to take the examination and see if he could get there. He did and he passed. He has not only been an excellent policeman, but he at once, out of his salary, proceeded to educate his younger brothers and sisters, and he got either two or three of his old kinsfolk over from Russia through the money he saved, and provided homes for them.

I have given you examples of men who have served under me in my administration of the Police Department in New York and in my regiment. In addition thereto some of my nearest social friends, some of those with whom I have been closest in political life, have been men of Jewish faith and extraction.

Therefore, inevitably I have felt a degree of personal sympathy and personal horror of this dreadful tragedy, as great as can exist in the minds of any of you gentlemen yourselves. Exactly as I should claim the same sympathy from any one of you for any tragedy that happened to any Christian people, so I should hold myself unworthy of my present position if I failed to feel just as deep sympathy and just as deep sorrow and just as deep horror over an outrage like this done to the Jewish people in any part of the earth. I am confident that much good has already been done by the manifestations throughout this country, without any regard to creed whatsoever, of horror and sympathy over what has occurred.

It is gratifying to know, what we would, of course, assume, that the Government of Russia shares the feelings of horror and indignation with which the American people look upon the outrages at Kishineff and is moving vigorously not only to prevent their continuance, but to punish the perpetrators. That Government takes the same view of those outrages that our own Government takes of the riots and lynchings which sometimes occur in our country, but do not characterize either our Government or our people.

I have been visited by the Russian Ambassador on his own initiative, and in addition to what has been said to Secretary Hay, the Russian Ambassador has notified me personally without an inquiry upon my part that the Governor of Kishineff has been removed; that between three and four hundred of the participants in the outrages have been arrested; and he voluntarily stated that those men would be punished to the utmost that the law would permit.

I will consider most carefully the suggestions that you have submitted to me, and whether the now existing conditions are such that any further official expression would be of advantage to the unfortunate survivors, with whom we sympathize so deeply. Nothing that has occurred recently has had my more constant thought, and nothing will have my more constant thought than this subject.

In any proper way by which beneficial action may be taken, it will be taken, to show the sincerity of the historic American position of treating each man on his merits without the least reference to his creed, his race or his birthplace.

The Committee then submitted the tentative draft of the petition, which, with the exception of a few verbal modifications, is the form in which it was embodied in the dispatch sent to the American chargé d'affaires at St. Petersburg, quoted on page 478.

The petition was printed on large sheets of paper with spaces marked off for the name, occupation, and address of the signers. It was circulated, during the month of July, in thirty-six States and Territories, and 12,544 signatures were obtained. Among the signers were:

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Senators, 7.
Members of the House of Representatives, 30.
Justice of the Supreme Court, 1.
District Court Judges, 10.
Commissioners, 9.
District Attorneys, 7.
High Government Officials, 73.
Army Officers, 28.
Postmasters, 85.
Minor Officials, 130.

STATE GOVERNMENT

Governors, 22.
High State Officials, 170.
Members of Legislature, 182.

Judiciary

Chief Justices of Supreme Courts, 11.
Chancellors and Vice-Chancellors, 5.
Judges of Appellate Courts, 15.
Judges of Supreme Courts, 33.
Other Judges and Magistrates, 326.
Minor Officials, 670.

City and County Officials

Mayors, 150.
High Officials, 389.
Police Officials, 217.
Sheriffs, 115.
Minor Officials, 625.

Former Public Officials

United States,
State,
County and City, Total, 93.

Clergy

Archbishops, 3.
Bishops, 7.
Clergymen, 504.

Professions

Educators, 132.
Physicians, 504.
Lawyers, 1623.
Editors, 220.
Architects, 53.
Journalists, 82.
Composers and Musicians, 36.

BUSINESS

Bankers, 617.
Capitalists, 30.
Railroad Officials, 78.
Board of Trade and
Chamber of Commerce Officials, 17.
Fire, Life and Marine Insurance, 294.
Pharmacists, 176.
Newspaper Publishers, 96.
Merchants, 2,032.
Manufacturers, 194.
Farmers and Planters, 153.

BUSINESS POSITIONS

Managers and Superintendents, 268.
Secretaries, Clerks, Bookkeepers, 914.
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President Roosevelt consented to transmit the petition to the Emperor of Russia, and on July 14, he directed the Secretary of State to cable to the American chargé d'affaires at St. Petersburg the following letter of instructions embodying the petition:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 15, 1903.

RIDDLE, St. Petersburg:

You are instructed to ask an audience of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and to make him the following communication:

Excellency: The Secretary of State instructs me to inform you that the President has received from a large number of citizens of the United States, of all religious affiliations and occupying the highest positions in both public and private life, a respectful Petition addressed to his Majesty the Emperor, relating to the condition of the Jews and running as follows:

To His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia:

The cruel outrages perpetrated at Kishineff during Easter of 1903, have excited horror and reprobation throughout the world. Until your Majesty gave special and personal directions, the local authorities failed to maintain order or suppress the rioting. The victims were Jews and the assault was the result of race and religious prejudice. The rioters violated the laws of Russia.

The local officials were derelict in the performance of their duty.

The Jews were the victims of indefensible lawlessness.

These facts are made plain by the official reports of, and by the official acts following, the riot.

Under ordinary conditions the awful calamity would be deplored without undue fear of a recurrence. But such is not the case in the present instance. Your petitioners are advised that millions of Jews, Russian subjects, dwelling in Southwestern Russia, are in constant dread of fresh outbreaks.

They feel that ignorance, superstition and bigotry, as exemplified by the rioters, are ever ready to persecute them; that the local officials, unless thereunto specially admonished, cannot be relied on as strenuous protectors of their peace and security; that a public sentiment of hostility has been engendered against them and hangs over them as a continuing menace.

Even if it be conceded that these fears are to some extent exaggerated, it is unquestionably true that they exist, that they are not groundless, and that they produce effects of great importance.

The westward migration of Russian Jews, which has proceeded for over twenty years, is being stimulated by these fears, and already that movement has become so great as to overshadow in magnitude the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and to rank with the exodus from Egypt.

No estimate is possible of the misery suffered by the hapless Jews who feel driven to forsake their native land, to sever the most sacred ties, and to wander forth to strange countries.

Neither is it possible to estimate the misery suffered by those who are unwilling or unable to leave the land of their birth; who must part from friends and relatives who emigrate; who remain in never-ending terror.

Religious persecution is more sinful and more fatuous than war. War is sometimes necessary, honorable and just; religious persecution is never defensible.

The sinfulness and folly which give impulse to unnecessary war received their greatest check when your Majesty's initiative resulted in an International Court of Peace.

With such an example before it, the civilized world cherishes the hope that upon the same initiative there shall be fixed in the early days of the twentieth century, the enduring principle of religious liberty; that by a gracious and convincing expression your Majesty will proclaim, not only for the government of your own subjects, but also for the guidance of all civilized men, that none shall suffer in person, property, liberty, honor or life, because of his religious belief; that the humblest subject or citizen may worship according to the dictates of his own conscience, and that government, whatever its form or agencies, must safeguard these rights and immunities by the exercise of all its powers.

Far removed from your Majesty's dominions, living under different conditions, and owing allegiance to another Government, your petitioners yet venture, in the name of civilization, to plead for religious liberty and tolerance; to plead that he who led his own people and all others to the shrine of peace, will add new luster to his reign and fame by leading a new movement that shall commit the whole world in opposition to religious persecution.

I am instructed to ask whether the Petition will be received by your Excellency to be submitted to the gracious consideration of his Majesty. In that case the Petition will be at once forwarded to St. Petersburg. I avail myself, etc.

You will report at the earliest possible moment your execution of this instruction.

HAY.

The Imperial Government of Russia declined to receive the petition.

By permission of President Roosevelt, the separate sheets of the petition, suitably bound and enclosed in a case provided for the purpose, have been placed in the archives of the Department of State.

The President of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith received the following from the Secretary of State in reply to his letter accompanying the petition, which was delivered to Mr. Hay by Mr. Simon Wolf, of Washington, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, October 31, 1903.

LEO N. LEVI, Esq., President of the Executive Committee of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, New York.

My Dear Sir: I have received at the hands of the Honorable Simon Wolf your letter of October 5. He has also delivered to me the bound copy of the Kishineff petition. It gives me pleasure to accept the charge of this important and significant document and to assign it a place in the archives of the Department of State.

Although this copy of your petition did not reach the high destination for which it was intended, its words have attained world-wide publicity, and have found a lodgment in many thousands of minds. This petition will be always memorable, not only for what it contains, but also for the number and weight of the signatures attached to it, embracing some of the most prominent names of our generation of our men renowned for intelligence, philanthropy and public spirit. In future, when the students of history come to peruse this document, they will wonder how the petitioners, moved to profound indignation by intolerable wrongs perpetrated on the innocent and helpless, should have expressed themselves in language so earnest and eloquent and yet so dignified, so moderate and so decorous. It is a valuable addition to public literature, and will be sacredly cherished among the treasures of this department. I am, sir, very respectfully yours,

JOHN HAY.

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